

TEXT, TRANSMISSION,
AND TRANSFORMATION IN
THE EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGES,
1000–1500

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TEXT, TRANSMISSION,
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THE EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGES,
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Edited by

Carrie Griffin and Emer Purcell



BREPOLS

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IN MEMORIAM

Donnchadh Ó Corráin

1942–2017

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This book was born of an international, interdisciplinary conference: ‘Transmission, Translation, and Dissemination in the European Middle Ages *c.* AD 1000–AD 1500’, held in University College Cork in September 2012. Though some papers were specially commissioned for this volume, we must first acknowledge the debt this publication owes to that event. The conference was organised by the Forum for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Ireland (FMRSI; <www.fmrsi.wordpress.com>), a national hub for medieval and early modern scholars on the island of Ireland that seeks to foster communication and interaction between those working in the field at all levels, from postgraduate students to professors. FMRSI is coordinated by Drs Ann Buckley (TCD), Carrie Griffin (UL), and Emer Purcell (NUI). The conference came to fruition in collaboration with Dr Elizabeth Boyle, then of Cambridge University (now Maynooth University), who brought generous funding from the Leverhulme Trust and the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Cambridge University, without which we could not have supported our speakers. More importantly, however, she brought a spirit of academic generosity and organisation to the event. It would have been much poorer without her and we owe her our unreserved thanks.

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in acknowledgement of his unparalleled contribution to medieval studies.
Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

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Carrie Griffin and Emer Purcell

INTRODUCTION

Carrie Griffin and Emer Purcell

Gathered together in this volume of essays are examples of research that would almost never be located within the same book but which, when read together, offers a unique and illuminating perspective on practices and theory around texts, ideas, and communication in Europe of the later Middle Ages. Publishing trends in medieval literature and history currently favour monographs and collections of essays that are tightly focused linguistically, contextually, thematically, and geographically. This situation is understandable given the narrowness of individual research specialisms and the ways in which conferences and symposia increasingly respond to specific expertise and research interests. Moreover the Anglocentric emphasis of many research events dealing with the Middle Ages and of the resultant essay collections and special issue journals can have the effect of isolating certain research findings and discussions, framing them with respect to specific parameters and thus discouraging the integration of similar kinds of research carried out across different contexts. *Texts, Transmission, and Transformation in the European Middle Ages, 1000–1500* is a collection of papers with a pan-European remit, held together primarily by an interest in issues around textual transmission, translation, and the movement of ideas across late medieval Europe and concerned not just with literary texts but with images, music, scientific learning, and beliefs, examining some of the rich and varied vernacular traditions that were well established by the 1000s.

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This volume makes the history of ideas and the spread and communication of those ideas core concerns, investigating the dynamic and dialogic nature of texts and ideas in medieval Europe not to newly challenge any notion that dialogue and exchange were not occurring but to examine in detail the manner in which texts and ideas change and are manipulated when transmitted and translated into new contexts: material, political, formal, linguistic, and geographical/spatial. The research gathered here is a synthesis of new findings to do with well-known texts and concepts and innovative work on less familiar genres of writing and cultural concepts. Ten case-studies consider the protean nature of texts and ideas as they move across borders or between languages across Western Europe, and as they are received by different patrons, copyists, readers, commentators, and audiences and our theme — the transmission and dissemination of texts — anchors the essays within a framework that is also sufficiently flexible to allow the description of geographical and regional specifics. In some ways, *translatio studii et imperii* forms the backdrop to these essays, as they explore the transmission of knowledge/culture and political/cultural legitimacy from one civilization to another as passed down to medieval Europe from classical antiquity often via Arabic sources. Consequently the volume provides a more general overview of trends in European textual transmission but, more important, it bears witness to a period of great exchange and supports greater exploration of the dynamics between Christendom and the Islamic world, insular and continental, Latin and the vernacular, and core and periphery in medieval Europe. To allow comparisons to happen, we collate research that is multi- and cross-cultural with the intention of giving greater insight into the textual and intellectual landscape of medieval Europe, a Europe that has movement, translation, and exchange at its centre. What emerges is a detailed study of certain aspects of medieval Europe in which, both locally and internationally, patrons, scribes, readers, and other agents were actively engaged in the repackaging and retransmission of the written word for new audiences in ways that are both comparable and distinctive. Contributors share an interest in these issues, specifically being concerned to illustrate exactly the methods used to transliterate and newly disseminate texts and concepts and the implications of the analysis of those methods for understanding the intellectual landscape of this period. While the essays themselves are ostensibly case-studies, and are necessarily specialized, their common concern is with the detail relating to transmission, translation, and transformation that is in evidence in the contexts for the written word and implicitly present in texts themselves.

The studies presented here are concerned with literatures and writings that bear witness to the contexts in which they were produced and reworked. Europe

in the high and later Middle Ages is characterized by invasion and conflict, exchange, innovation, trade, population growth and settlement, and travel and exploration; maps of Europe that were produced throughout the period visually encode an awareness of boundaries, place, and spatial and political authority, and autonomy and otherness; yet they also contain an idea of proximity and closeness, and of the fluidity and permeability of borders and boundaries. Early literature such as the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, the epic poem *Beowulf*, and even the later Icelandic sagas such as the *Saga of Erik the Red*, respond to the uncertainty and danger associated with sea-travel but also focus on the heroism of such endeavours, as well as the potential for sea-travel to bring about encounters with the familiar and the quotidian as well as the other and the exotic. Visual art too reacts to religious, cultural, and political encounters — quite frequently violent and destructive — between people of ‘other’ nations, regions, and territories. The form and content of literature of Europe in the high and late Middle Ages, then, can be said to reflect both insular and continental cultures but also the political tensions that led to the clash of those cultures. It can also be said to have been produced, translated, or retransmitted by clashes or cultural encounters, heavily inflected by the scribal and oral systems that created and transmitted texts. This volume seeks to address how the various marks of exchange and cultural encounters might be discerned in written work from the later medieval period.

Summary of Essays

The essayists share a common concern with the transmission of texts, examining what happens to material when it moves into contexts other than that in which it was produced; the influence that scribes, translators, and readers have on textual materiality and also on reception; and the intermingling different textual traditions and genres. Thus the essays foreground the fluidity and dynamism of the textual cultures of the Middle Ages in Europe and speak to the profound connections and synergies between peoples and nations traceable in the movement and interpretation of texts, versions, and ideas.

Indeed, the pan-European concern of these essays brings together research not just relating to Anglophone and Latinate texts (such as Pérez-Fernández’s study of the migration of the writings of John Gower to Iberia) but literatures of several European vernaculars (Medieval Irish, Medieval Welsh, Middle Dutch, Middle German, and Italian) and works that are experienced in aural and oral contexts (music and song). Some essays also examine more subtle

instances of transmission and dissemination in the deployment of scientific ideas for figurative purposes in literature, for instance, or the presence of inter-textual references in liturgical carols, layering meaning into the song. Moreover, these vernacular texts are examined not in isolation but in direct relation and as responses to wider European culture; several of the contributions theorize the translation of works, for example, those relating to spiritual instruction and prayer, into other European languages and contexts. Together the essays offer a view of an outward-looking, networked, and engaged Europe in which people used texts in order to communicate, discover, and explore as well as to record and preserve cultural and other encounters.

Kevin Murray examines the transmission and development of a narrative concerning the voyaging of Snédgus and Mac Ríagla, two clerics of the *familia* of St Columba (Colum Cille). Its earliest surviving attestation is in a poem of seventy-six stanzas, preserved in the Yellow Book of Lecan, and its composition may be dated to *c.* 1000AD. The latest extant version of the narrative is embedded in *Betha Colaim Chille* (The Life of Colum Cille), written by Maghnas Ó Domhnaill in the early sixteenth century. Murray analyses not only the relationship between the extant versions of this text but, more significantly, discusses the complex interrelationship between both the poetic and prose forms of this tale. Close linguistic analysis suggests that the traditional understanding of borrowing from the poetic to the prose may not always have been the case, and that in fact both may have been composed at the same time, leading to what Murray calls a 'narrative complex'. These narratives lend an insight into the medieval Irish cultural tradition which has much to relate with regard to hagiography, but also to dynastic and ecclesiastical history in medieval Ireland, looking at the dynasty of Fir Rois amongst whom the crime of regicide occurs as well as the diocesan history of Clogher and Armagh. Murray discusses how editorial practice has influenced our understanding of this text and its transmission, and argues against the traditional tendency to separate the poetic and the prose, the intermingling of which was common in this period; this raises critical issues such the question of how editorial decisions and judgements influence our reading and experiences of medieval texts in Irish.

Thomas Birkett's 'Translating a Tradition: The *Rune Poems* of Anglo-Saxon England and Medieval Scandinavia' is concerned with the transmission and complex interrelationship of these texts. He examines how these poems are found in Anglo-Saxon England, Norway, and Iceland from the tenth-century to the fifteenth-century. Considering previous analysis of these works, Birkett poses interesting questions with regard to the origins and intertextual relationships: do they share a common archetypal text or *ur*-poem, or are they formed

and shaped by oral lore surrounding the runic characters themselves? Here we see migration and transmission across a wide chronological and geographical range in what Birkett terms an extensive North Atlantic littoral. Though Anglo-Saxon England, Scandinavia, and Iceland shared a common Germanic heritage, the development of this textual tradition may have more to do with the form of the runes themselves and the lore surrounding them. Runes come from a Germanic tradition, yet the *Rune Poems* themselves were influenced by similar Latin models; Birkett argues, in particular, that the Old English text was influenced by the Christian tradition. Here we not only witness the intimate involvement of Germanic and Christian traditions but also the shared heritage of Anglo-Saxon England, Scandinavia, and Iceland, and how those cultures interacted closely yet evolved distinctly throughout the medieval period.

Transmission of another kind is the subject of Beth Ann Zamzow's contribution. Her focus on carols — on sung narratives — highlights the transmission of meaning in ways that are non-standard; moreover, carols are full of intertextual interest, meaning that ideas from and versions of other texts and traditions are also contained in them, transmitted to the audience in song. In 'Something Gained in the Translation: Liturgical Quotation, Paraphrase, and Translation in the Fifteenth-Century English Carols' Zamzow's focus is on English material and on the self-contained, poetic form that is the carol, the content and scope of which suggests consistent borrowing, reworking, translation, and retransmission. She notes that the carols depend heavily on the liturgy of the Church, at times constructing new arguments using established beliefs and texts, thus creating a 'multidimensional' effect from layering and accumulated meaning. In addition her chapter considers the effect on an audience of a sung narrative that is layered with meaning and complexity. Zamzow's essay describes in detail six carols that connect to the liturgy of the Epiphany, analysing particularly the translation that occurs in the 'transfiguration of both words and music from the liturgy to the carols'. A consistent feature of these poetic pieces, then, is the borrowing and retransmission of text and ideas in a fixed form that is arguably offset in part by the fluidity of the sung narrative, and Zamzow analyses six examples to demonstrate the dynamics of these particularly rich and complex sites of translation and transmission.

Anthony Lappin's chapter surveys the translation and the reception of the Qur'an in early medieval Europe. The Qur'an was translated from Arabic into Latin by Robert of Ketton and Hermann of Carinthia in northern Spain. The *Alchoran latinus* seems to have been commissioned under the patronage of the abbot of Cluny, one of the largest Benedictine monasteries in Europe. Here, we witness the transmission of a text not just from one language to another but

into different geographic and cultural locations. Central to our understanding of the reception of this text are the marginalia and annotations added in later manuscripts, which reveal attempts to demonise the Islamic tradition but which also show parallels between Islam and the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Through detailed linguistic analysis, Lappin identifies specific choices in the nuances of meaning which reveal both certain perceptions and judgements made by the translators. Similarly, such judgements and reactions are found in commentaries in the marginalia. In later manuscripts, the omission of marginalia reflects reaction to the text and to earlier commentaries. Thus, Lappin argues the *Alchoran* can be read as a form of polemical literary criticism and this has much to tell us about reading practices which not only sought polemical refutation ‘but also spied out the geography of common ground between the religious traditions’.

The transmission of scientific and philosophical concepts in the context of a work of literature is the subject of Krista Rascoe’s essay. In ‘Blinded by the Light: Medieval Optical Physics in Dante’s *Paradiso*’, Rascoe offers a reading of the medieval poem that foregrounds Dante’s interest in particular in optical science, refraction, and reflection, tracing the transmission of ideas from antiquity into the vernacular tracts of medieval Europe and, further, examining Dante’s interpretation and translation of those concepts into literary form. Dante’s interest in transmission, refraction, and reflection, then, ensures that the *Paradiso* is in itself a complex site involving those very concepts in the creation of a work of imagination. Rascoe’s work is deeply invested in both the philosophical notion and the practicalities of transmission. Her detailed historical background, outlining the theories connected to sight and visuals that were developed by Greek and Arabic philosophers and mathematicians, as well as by figures such as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Robert Grosseteste, and Roger Bacon, and that were still relevant to, and important for, thinkers in the medieval and early modern periods gives way to a detailed reading of Dante for evidence of the influence of such concepts. Rascoe concludes her survey by stating that Dante found ‘aesthetic revelation through emerging ideals of optical theory — a theory that [...] leads man back to God’; her work also foregrounds a nice synergy, highly relevant to the present project, that can be found between Dante’s subject matter and his own literary practices.

Exchange across geographical locations and languages is the subject of Tamara Pérez-Fernández’s essay ‘From England to Iberia: The Transmission of Marginal Elements in the Iberian Translations of Gower’s *Confessio amantis*’, Pérez-Fernández investigates the implications of translating the *Confessio amantis* of the medieval English poet and translator John Gower for a new ver-

naacular audience in the Iberian Peninsula. Her contribution, then, is concerned with textual transmission and translation that occurred geographically and across borders as well as a kind of transmission that involved the rejection of certain elements of the text — in this case the marginalia, and the Latin apparatus that supported the text in English — which, she argues, indicates a different reading audience and reception of the text in its new context. The reception of the text — the Spanish *Confysion del amante* and the Portugese *Livro do amante*, the first translations of an English text into other European languages — into Iberia was by no means a straightforward process. Pérez-Fernández analyses the alterations made to the Iberian versions but also the attitudes to scribal intervention, marginalia, and other textual apparatus, and *mise-en-page* discernible in these new, very different texts of Gower's work, concluding that they must have reached a narrower audience in Spanish and Portugese than they did in English. Her work demonstrates too that, although the vernacular spoke directly to the contemporary audience, Latin was still very much the language of authority and legal importance.

In Nóirín Ní Bheaglaoi's essay, '*Libri corrigendi*: The Dissemination of Revisions and Corrections in the *Topographia Hibernica*', transmission is examined in a different way. Through a detailed analysis of the manuscript tradition of the *Topographia Hibernica*, as well as of Giraldus Cambrensis himself, Ní Bheaglaoi offers a fascinating account of an *auctor* at the centre of the composition, revision, redaction, transmission, and promotion of his own work. Giraldus's description of Ireland in the late twelfth century is framed by the coming of the Anglo- and/or Cambro-Normans to Ireland. Over thirty manuscripts of the text survive, attesting to its importance and to Giraldus's skill at self-promotion and the ultimate fulfilment of his express wish to obtain posterity through his written works. Ní Bheaglaoi guides us through Giraldus's revision process and his use of wax tablets and vellum working-copies, as well as the means he used to publicize his works, from public readings to gifted manuscripts. Authorial intent and authorial redaction are central to the discussion of the transmission of this text.

Another work by Giraldus is the subject of Caoimhe Whelan's essay. In 'Translating the *Expugnatio Hibernica*: A Vernacular English History in Late Medieval Ireland', Whelan considers the later transmission and reception of the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, particularly the Hiberno-Middle-English translation of the text in the fifteenth century. Here, the language was deliberately chosen with a specific audience in mind: the English of late medieval Ireland situated at what Whelan terms 'the fringes of the Plantagenet empire'. This discussion examines how a twelfth-century text was translated and amended for a fif-

teenth-century audience. The translator is unknown, but Whelan demonstrates that he knew his audience well and understood that the text formed both a history of the past and a prism through which the audience could understand their present. Whelan draws attention to certain passages, those dealing with or quoting papal documents from the *Expugnatio*, and how they are transmitted through the original Latin and not translated into Hiberno-Middle-English, arguing that Giraldus is keenly aware of the importance of the authority of the Latin text.

Anna Dlabáčová's contribution, 'Reaching Readers, Influencing Ideas: The Dynamics of the Distribution of Vernacular Texts in the Later Middle Ages', emerges from research carried out by the author as part of the 'Mobility of Ideas and Transmission of Texts' project which examines the transmission of vernacular knowledge in the Rhineland and Low Countries, 1300–1550.¹ Using the lengthy Middle Dutch *Mirror of Perfection*, a manual for contemplative life based on the writings of the fifteenth-century friar minor Hendrik Herp, as a case-study, Dlabáčová expounds on the mechanics of the transmission, translation, and reception of vernacular texts towards the end of the Middle Ages. Herp's text was widely known in medieval Holland: it is extant in twenty-seven Middle Dutch manuscripts and was printed in four editions from 1501; moreover, the text was translated into Middle High German, surviving in over twenty manuscripts and also in a printed incunable from Mainz, 1474. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was translated into Latin and also into various other European vernaculars: French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish. It is a fine example of a text that crossed boundaries: manuscript into print, and one vernacular into another. Dlabáčová refers to Herp's *Spiegel* as a 'successful text', arguing that a case-study of this text and the ways in which it apparently translated extremely well for new audiences and into new forms can enable us to further understand other, similar vernacular texts and the ways in which they were transmitted and received in the later Middle Ages. However, we might ask questions about anonymously authored texts and transmission. Much is known about the purported author of the *Spiegel*, Herp, which means that realistically the text had a greater chance of success, and Dlabáčová demonstrates that the text moved through different Middle Dutch reading com-

¹ This project is a collaboration between five European universities: Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Antwerp University, Leiden University, the University of Oxford, and Università del Salento Lecce. For further information, see <<https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/mobility-of-ideas-and-transmission-of-texts#tab-1>> [accessed 20 June 2018].

munities, including convents, and that it reached readers and audiences who had both direct and indirect contact with Herp. When the work, however, is translated into new physical and linguistic contexts, Dlabáčová argues that it becomes distanced from an association with a specific and well-known author, and thus we can discern more about the role of the reader in the distribution and interpretation of the text.

Finally, Matthew Wranovix's 'Transmission and Selection: Educating the Parish Clergy in Late Medieval Germany' presents a detailed case-study of the parish of Eichstätt, examining how bishops were concerned to control the transmission and dissemination of religious texts, particularly synodal statutes and liturgical books. These works were central to the instruction and work of the clergy and, more important, to the instruction of the laity. The potential of scribal and individual works kept by priests to undermine efforts at unity of thought and practice alarmed the bishops. Hence, regulations were introduced to ensure transmission of works from central copies. A distinction is evident between those works owned by individual priests and those owned by the parish. Textual circulation was central to the transmission of canon law, pastoral care, and the liturgy to parish clergy. Wranovix opens his essay by reiterating the observation made by renowned scholar Enno Bünz: that the medieval parish is the 'node of communication' that connects the layperson to the larger Church. His study of one aspect of that network — the communication between priests and bishops — exploits the central concerns of this volume of essays: transmission and translation were key to this relationship. As Wranovix notes, bishops had to transmit the laws and edicts of the Church to their clergy, who in turn had the responsibility of translating the same laws and edicts for the layperson. However, the laity also participated in this process by 'constructing local religious cultures' based on the information that they were receiving and — crucially — interpreting. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Wranovix finds that priests had access to and used a great variety of texts than those prescribed, citing, among other factors, the growth of libraries and increased circulation of texts other than the prescribed *Guide for Curates*.

Ways of Reading

Why co-locate work on the transmission of an Irish poem within Ireland with the transmission of Middle English poem in Iberia, with the transmission of a Dutch devotional treatise within the Low Countries? These studies share a concern with textual communities and the circulation and exchange of texts within

those communities. Sometimes those communities are born of political circumstances, evidenced in Whelan's study of the *Expugnatio Hibernica* in medieval Ireland; at times they are born of and/or produced within religious communities in the Low Countries and Germany. The purpose of presenting such a diverse collection of papers in one volume is to allow the reader to compare literary traditions, the similarities and differences discerned together generate a greater understanding of text and transmission in the Middle Ages. Thus in Murray's essay, we witness the circulation and transmission of a tale within the Irish tradition and how movement and transmission within that tradition shaped and reshaped the text and its recensions. In Lappin's contribution, we see translation from Latin to the vernacular, from the Islamic to Judaeo-Christian tradition, and in addition the geographical movement of the text and its reception in medieval Europe. Birkett examines the *Rune Poems*, which share a common cultural Germanic tradition, and we witness their transmission within Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Icelandic traditions, observing how in turn they were shaped and reshaped by each tradition. Here we also find runic characters moving away from their more traditional form as inscriptions on material artefacts and monuments and into the manuscript tradition. Ní Bheaglaoi's work concerns not just the transmission of the *Topographia Hibernica* but the influence that Giraldus himself had on the transmission of his text and how he reworked his own text for circulation amongst an Anglo-Norman audience. Ní Bheaglaoi's work can be read as a companion piece to Whelan's, in which is discussed the translation of one of Giraldus's other works, the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, from Latin into the vernacular for the descendants of those Anglo-Normans who had settled in Ireland in the late twelfth century and who had evolved a distinct and complex cultural identity. Pérez-Fernández looks at the reception and translation of Gower's work from England to the Iberian Peninsula: the physical movement of a text from one country to another and into a new and distinct environment actively how the text was transmitted, and affecting the loss of its Latin apparatus. Similarly Dlabáčová documents the movement and circulation of a text through Franciscan and Carthusian houses and the use of established religious networks and infrastructure in the Rhineland and Low Countries. Rascoe, however, examines the transmission of medieval understandings of the science of light within the work of Dante. As Wranovix's essay demonstrates, attempts were made in late medieval Germany to control the way in which texts were copied and transmitted so as to ensure unity of thought and instruction both to the clergy and to the laity. Finally, Zamzow's paper looks at Latin and vernacular traditions of carols and the influence of the liturgy, but also how that liturgy was framed or reframed by the carol structure itself.

Several of the contributions trace the concerns of the authors and scribes when composing and copying the text in attempts to identify their intended purpose. In some cases the author of a text is unknown, and we are indebted to the work of copyists, such as the scribe(s) of medieval Ireland who transcribed *Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Riagla*, or the erudite clerics who composed carols in fifteenth-century England. Often the author is well known: Giraldus Cambrensis copied and/or transcribed his text repeatedly, and Herp exercised much control over the distribution and contributed to the success of his *Speighel*. The original scribe/author may be unknown in many cases, but often the translator and/or copyist can be identified; for example, Robert of Ketton and Hermann of Carinthia were both responsible for the translation of the Qur'ān. However, the intention of the author is at times reinterpreted and recast by the audience who hears, reads, and in other ways receives the text in a process of exchange. The centrality of the audience is perhaps most keenly reflected by the later history of the *Expugnatio*, this twelfth-century text is translated from Latin into the vernacular for a fifteenth-century colonial audience. The descendants of the very people discussed by Cambrensis were still struggling (like their ancestors before them) to establish their identity as Englishmen living in Ireland.

Of central importance is the environment in which a work or text was written or copied. Despite the themes and concerns of the individual texts, the majority had their genesis within the context of a Christianized medieval Europe, whether in the pre-reform early Christian monastic houses of medieval Ireland, or under the patronage of the Benedictine monastery of Cluny, who sponsored the translation of the Qur'ān. The Dutch and Germanic religious houses of later medieval Europe provided the infrastructure for the circulation and distribution of texts such as the *Mirror of Perfection* as well as other types doctrinal and devotional material. In many cases, the use of the vernacular was fundamental to transmission to a more general audience while Latin was reserved for the learned. As well as being written within the Christian tradition, the texts were often sponsored by the Church. The official handbooks and guides that the German clergy were required to possess, based on the records of the parish of Eichstätt — official liturgical books, diocesan statutes, and pastoral handbooks — represent official attempts to mediate the role and responsibilities of the clergy at the coal-face, where there may have been less stringent application of the rules and, as argued by Wranovix, there was a concern over the influence of 'untrained' priests. A more profound version of spirituality arguably is to be found in the carols that survive in such huge numbers and with such variety from medieval England. The blend of text and musical nota-

tion speaks to performative and collective devotional practices, passionate renditions, and careful preservation of song that is a foil to the more pragmatic, instructional, faith-based texts represented.

Indeed, the production of text involved exchange at the most fundamental level, and examination of the minutiae of this process brings an additional rich dimension. For example, Murray's linguistic analysis of the *Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Riagla* teases out the relationship between prose and poetry. Similarly, Lappin's scrutiny of translation and nuance of meaning reveals much about medieval European scribes and their perception of Islam. Dlačáková discusses a paper copy of the *Spiegel* manuscript from the convent of Regular Canonesses of St Mary/Rose of Jericho in Brussels. It is known that the copyist was Elizabeth Poelke — one of the sisters — but it is the marginal notes that demonstrate that this text was not merely copied but was actively studied by the canonesses. It is the marginalia or annotation/glosses in the margins of texts that often reveal most with respect to the reception, reaction, and above all, the mediation of the text to a new audience. In some cases, the entire text is translated from Latin into the vernacular; in others, select changes are made, such as the loss of the Latin apparatus in Gower's work when it was remitted in the Iberian Peninsula; or, in the case of carols examined by Zamzow, Middle English and Latin are combined in carols, with the sung form recalling liturgical references.

This volume, then, fundamentally explores the detail of intellectual exchange at this time and the dynamics involved in the movement of text from one form to another, and between languages, nations, and regions; it considers the mechanics of the transference of a text from one audience to another, sometimes from a religious to a secular audience, or at times for different cultural audiences who occupy and/or share the same geographic space, such as the English settlers in medieval Ireland. By situating such readings of differently dimensioned works in the same volume, we gain a unique perspective on medieval Europe. That perspective demonstrates not just similarities between various acts of transmission, translation, and dissemination but also, at times, points of intersection in those acts. And overall a picture of a busy, networked, and scholarly Europe re-emerges — perhaps one slightly different to that which is well known to academic audiences — via a collection of new readings and case-studies.

ASPECTS OF THE NARRATIVE DEVELOPMENT AND TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF THE VOYAGING OF SAINT COLUMBA'S CLERICS

Kevin Murray

There are specific medieval and early modern Irish texts concerned with the story of two clerics of the Columban *familia*, Snédgus and Mac Ríagla, which provide us with the opportunity to trace the development of a discrete narrative complex from the eleventh to the sixteenth century.¹ The related narratives treat of the appropriate punishment for the crime of regicide, particularly when kings do not behave as just rulers. They tell of a population group, Fir Rois, who kill Fíacha, their king, because of the bad treatment they receive from him. His brother, Donnchad, leaves their fate in the hands of St Colum Cille who sends two clerics with instructions that some members of Fir Rois should be set adrift on the ocean so that God might judge their crime. On the way back to Iona, the two clerics, Snédgus and Mac Ríagla, take their oars into their boat and leave their journey in God's hands. They visit many wondrous Otherworlds, among which they find the Fir Rois castaways living in harmony, having been reconciled with God. The clerics come back safely to Ireland with tidings of the imminent visitation of God's vengeance upon the Irish because of their neglect of God's teachings.

Most commentators have focused their attentions on the earliest surviving written version of the narrative complex, a seventy-six-stanza poem preserved in the Yellow Book of Lecan. This poem survives embedded within a prose nar-

¹ I use the term 'Voyaging' throughout to refer to the entire narrative complex.

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rative which is thought to derive largely from the verse. The poetry and prose have both been edited previously: by Whitley Stokes, who edited and translated the prose;² by Rudolf Thurneysen, who edited and translated the poetry;³ and by Anton Gerard van Hamel, who edited both without translation, and without following the manuscript layout.⁴ Donncha Ó hAodha has provided translations of both the poetry and of the entire text as preserved in the manuscript,⁵ and I have recently published a new edition and translation of both poetry and prose (which also follows the manuscript layout).⁶ Together, they are known as *Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Riagla*, ‘The Voyage of Snédgus and Mac Riagla’, a constituent narrative of one of the most famous literary genres from medieval Ireland, the voyage tales (*immrama*).⁷

There is a later largely prose version of the narrative known as *Echtra Chlérech Coluim Chille*, ‘The Adventure of Colum Cille’s Clerics’, which has been edited and translated by both Stokes and Thurneysen,⁸ though Thurneysen omits the abridged version of *Fís Adomnáin*, ‘The Vision of Adomnán’, which is embedded in the text. A third version of the narrative, in prose interspersed with poetry, known as *Merugud Cléirech Coluim Chille*, ‘The Wandering of Colum Cille’s Clerics’, has been edited but not translated by Tomás Ó Máille.⁹ The final version, known as *Sechrán Clérech Coluim Chille*, ‘The Straying of Colum Cille’s Clerics’, is preserved within *Betha Colaim Chille*, ‘The Life of Colum

² ‘The Voyage of Snédgus and Mac Riagla’, ed. by Stokes. A modern Irish rendering of this prose narrative is available in ‘*Imramh Sneadhghusa agus Mhic Riagla*’, trans. by O’Growney, while a German translation has been provided by Thurneysen in *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, pp. 126–30.

³ *Zwei Versionen der mittelirischen Legende*, ed. by Thurneysen, pp. 9–26. He printed corrigenda in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 5 (1905), 418–21; see also Thurneysen, ‘Strophe 57 in *Imram Snedgusa ocus Mic Riagla*’.

⁴ *Immrama*, ed. by van Hamel, pp. 78–92. He edited the prose and poetry separately (the prose on pp. 82–85 and the poetry on pp. 86–92). For details of the correct sequence of prose and poetry, see ‘The Poetic Version’ trans. by Ó hAodha, p. 419.

⁵ Ó hAodha, ‘The Poetic Version’; Ó hAodha, ‘The Voyage of Snédgus and Mac Riagla’.

⁶ ‘The Voyaging of St Columba’s Clerics’, ed. by Murray. All references to the text of the *Immram* will be to this edition.

⁷ For brief discussions of the corpus, see Dillon, *Early Irish Literature*; Ní Bhrolcháin, *An Introduction to Early Irish Literature*, pp. 87–88. For a fuller treatment of the genre, see Wooding, *The Otherworld Voyage*.

⁸ ‘The Adventure of St Columba’s Clerics’, ed. by Stokes; *Zwei Versionen*, ed. by Thurneysen, pp. 31–50.

⁹ ‘*Merugud Cléirech Choluim Chille*’, ed. by Ó Máille.

Cille', a voluminous though late compilation which is a significant source for Columban traditions.¹⁰ I have outlined arguments elsewhere which suggest:

1. that the poetry of the *Immrám* may be dated to *c.* AD 1000, with its prose probably dating to the later eleventh or early twelfth century;
2. that the *Echtra* was likely penned in the second half of the twelfth century;
3. and that the composition of the *Merugud* may belong to the fourteenth century.¹¹

As mentioned above, the *Sechrán* is preserved as part of *Betha Colaim Chille* which was written by Maghnas Ó Domhnaill in 1532.¹² Comparative analysis points to the prose of the *Merugud* deriving directly from the *Echtra* (with added poetry), and with the *Sechrán* deriving directly from the *Merugud* (with additional verses).¹³ The particular focus of this essay is on the constituent elements and construction of the prosimetric *Immrám*, its transmission, and its utilisation in the development of the narrative of the *Echtra*.

Separating out the prose and poetry, as has happened with the earlier published editions of the *Immrám*, is problematic as such a process entails judgments about the nature and relationship of the material under investigation. Prosimetrum — the intermingling of prose and poetry — is a regular and common method of presentation of medieval Irish literature. For example, the two oldest recensions of the most famous text from medieval Ireland, *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, 'The Cattle-Raid of Cooley', survive in this format but their poetry and prose are not separated out in the editing.¹⁴ Thus, the published presentations of the different elements of *Immrám Snédgusa 7 Maic Ríagla* are unusual within the Irish scholarly tradition. It would seem that this approach has evolved because the poetry has been traditionally 'regarded as a separate version' with the prose taken as 'only an abstract made from the poem with an added introduction'.¹⁵ Such analysis, while defensible on the grounds that both the

¹⁰ *Betha Colaim Chille*, ed. by O'Kelleher and Schoepperle, pp. 382–401, §§ 355(a–f).

¹¹ 'The Voyaging of St Columba's Clerics', ed. by Murray, pp. 762–68.

¹² However, because of the amount of earlier material reworked in its creation, the constituent elements of this detailed compilation do not necessarily share a uniform date of composition.

¹³ 'The Voyaging of St Columba's Clerics', ed. by Murray, p. 767.

¹⁴ *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension 1*, ed. by O'Rahilly; *Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Book of Leinster*, ed. by O'Rahilly.

¹⁵ Thrall, 'The Historical Setting', p. 348; *Immrám*, ed. by van Hamel, p. 78.

prose and the poetry can be read continuously and independently of each other, goes against the manuscript presentation.¹⁶ Other combinations of prose and poetry where the verse may underpin the prose, as has been suggested for example for *Cath Almaine*, ‘The Battle of Allen’, have not been edited in this way.¹⁷

From recent examination of Irish prosimetric texts, a number of functions of verse within prose narrative have been put forward, including:

1. used ‘for dialogue to mark any heightening of the mood: love, anger, death’.¹⁸
2. used as ‘evidential verse’, that is, ‘to corroborate what has been told or mentioned in the preceding prose’.¹⁹
3. used as ‘reiterative verse’, that is, ‘the main object of the verse in each instance is to set the seal of authenticity on what has been recounted in the preceding prose, it becomes in fact a résumé of it’.²⁰

Though it is generally linguistically earlier than the prose, the poetry in the *Immram* functions as ‘reiterative verse’ in the layout of our sole surviving text; however, it is not a résumé of the preceding prose. How should such prosimetric texts be read?²¹ I can only add my support to the comment of Geraldine Parsons who advances ‘a general principle that should be adopted in reading

¹⁶ Because the prose and verse texts may be read independently of each other with no loss of narrative coherence, perhaps it might be worth thinking of them as comprising an *opus geminatum*, defined as ‘a pair of texts one in verse and one in prose, which ostensibly treat the same subject’; however, the presentations of such works are generally distinguished from prosimetric texts. The format of the *opus geminatum* would have been familiar to Irish scribes from the writings of Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin. For discussion, see Godman, ‘The Anglo-Latin “Opus Geminatum”’; Friesen, ‘The *Opus Geminatum* and Anglo-Saxon Literature’, p. 124 (for the definition cited here).

¹⁷ *Cath Almaine*, ed. by Ó Riain, pp. xxviii–xxix. In this latter case, however, the poetry is much less central and less plentiful than in *Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Riagla*, and it does not form a continuous narrative.

¹⁸ Dillon, ‘The Archaism of Irish Tradition’, p. 255.

¹⁹ Mac Cana, ‘Prosimetrum in Insular Celtic Literature’, p. 111.

²⁰ Mac Cana, ‘Prosimetrum in Insular Celtic Literature’, p. 112. Other scholarship on prosimetrum includes: Mac Cana, ‘Notes on the Combination of Prose and Verse’; Toner, ‘Authority, Verse and the Transmission of *Senchas*’; Ní Mhaonaigh, ‘Poetic Authority in Middle Irish Narrative’.

²¹ For further discussion, see Murray, ‘The Reworking of Old Irish Narrative Texts’, pp. 300–02.

prosimeric texts: the poetry [...] and the prose are intended to be read as a single unit'.²² This echoes Máire Herbert's well-known statement: 'How then should critical study of an Irish heroic tale proceed? Recognition of the necessity of dealing with the transmitted text rather than with an idealized "original" is an evident starting point'.²³ For 'an Irish heroic tale' here we can easily substitute 'a medieval Irish text', or specifically in this case 'a medieval Irish voyage tale', without any loss of emphasis or meaning.

The iterative role of the poetry in *Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Ríagla* has already been commented upon and is easily shown by reference to a few illustrative examples.²⁴ The direct textual overlaps between the prose and poetry of the *Immram* have been bolded; the bolding in the *Echtra* highlights the material it has in common with the *Immram*.

Example 1

Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Ríagla (Prose ii)

Doss-corathar **iar sin co hindsi** n-aile 7 **aile airgid dara medon** 7 **cora eisc** indti 7 ba **stíall ar chapur d'airged** an cora-sain 7 **no lingdis frisin** coraid ecne mora; ba meidithir colpthaigh firind cech eicne dib 7 sastaiseom dib.

9. Imraised **iar sin docum indsi**,
ord cen geran,
aile argait
adhmaid romoir **tara medhan**.

10. **Stíall ar chapur d'argad** glang[lu]air
ina cind-se,
caime blogha
ba si **cora eisc** na hinnse.

11. **No lingtis** suass **frisind** eas-sain,
esnadh n-írend,
iaich thruim tolgaidh
commeite fri colpthaigh firind.

12. Fir, is munter Dé fo-gníat,
gair cech dhíne,
etir airgid
7 **ecne mora** míne.

Echtra Chlérech Coluim Chille § 10

Ocus adnaidead co ceand tri la 7 tri a-aidche, antan adchonnacadar ailen 7 indsi uathu. Suairec em in t-ailen sin, air is amlaid ro bai, 7 crann duilleach dosmor dath-alaind and, 7 **sonnach airgidid dar a lar a medon** na hindsi, 7 **cora fíresc a cert-**

²² Parsons, 'Acallam na Senórach as Prosimerum', p. 87.

²³ Herbert, 'The Universe of Male and Female', p. 54.

²⁴ To facilitate comparison, in the first two examples here given, relevant sections from Stokes's edition of *Echtra Chlérech Coluim Chille* are cited (see footnote 8). The corresponding passages from the editions of the *Merugud* and the *Sechnán* (details in footnotes 9–10) are also given in the footnotes.

medon na hindsi, 7 **stíall ar capar d'airged** gil a n-imthacmang na corad. Ba **com-met re colptaig** mbliadne cech bradan taebalaind tairrgel baethlemnech ballchor-cra **no chindedh suas frisín coraid** IS *derb*, ar siad, is **múnter Dé** bís annsa n-oilen sa; 7 caithem, ar siad, ní don iasc, 7 *beram* lind. *Ocus* rucsad ní don iasc leo, 7 batar *denus* ann .i. teora la 7 teora aidchi.²⁵

In the text of the *Immram*, 'Prose ii' is followed immediately by verses 9 to 12. The parallels are obvious and immediate with the bulk of this section of the prose showing major overlap with the language of the poetry. Does this bear out the observation that the prose constitutes a knitting together and reworking of the poetic source? Most probably. In this example, however, all is not as clear linguistically as one might expect with regard to the direction of borrowing. Thus, the prose preserves nasalization after a noun in the accusative singular (*co hindsi n-aile*) while the poetry does not preserve nasalization after the definite article attached to a preposition that originally governed the accusative (*frisind eas-sain*); in fact, the form looks like it might better be understood as illustrating the breakdown in cases following prepositions, a regular development in Middle Irish. More significantly, however, are the phrases *meidithir colpthaigh firind* (in the prose) versus *commeite fri colpthaigh firind* (in the poetry); both translate identically as 'as big as a yearling bullock'. The addition of *-ithir /-idir* to adjectives, or occasionally to nouns as in this case, is the normal Old Irish method of forming the equative (which is commonly followed by a noun in the accusative, as here). The regular Modern Irish formation of the equative, *comh 'X' le*, goes back to earlier *com 'X' fri*, which is what we have in the poetry; this construction begins to dominate in the Middle Irish period.²⁶ The two phrases

²⁵ *Merugud* § 5: Seolaid tri la co n-aidhc[h]i iarsin doib co facadar oilen uatha 7 is amlaid dobi ant oilen 7 crann duillech dosmor digainn ann 7 sonnach airgid ar lár medoin in oilein 7 cora fir-eisg a cert-medon na hindse 7 ba coimeid re colpaigh mbliadna gach bradan blaith bith-solus ball-c[h]orcra do lingadh suas risín coraidh. 'Is derb linn', ar siad, 'gurob iad muindter Dia dorinde an cora ud 7 caithem ní da hiasg 7 do badur teora la 7 teora aidhchi innte, 7 adbert an laidh: [four stanzas follow]. *Sechnán* p. 386.26–34: do batar co cend tri la 7 téora n-oidhce mar sin go fucutar oilen uatha 7 croind duillecha dosmora and, 7 sonnach airgid ar lár-medhon na hindse, 7 cora fir-éisc innte 7 sdiall airgid aenghil a timchell na corudh sin; 7 ba meidightech re colbtaigh bliadhna gach bradan blaith ballcorcra ac baethleimnigh suas frisín an coruich. 'Is derb lind', ar siad, 'isat muindtir do Dia fil andso, 7 caithem ní don iasc, 7 beirem lind ar ndil de'. Acus doronsad amlaidh sin. Robatar tri la 7 tri hoidhce and, 7 doronsad an laeidh: [a version of the same four stanzas follows].

²⁶ Breatnach, 'The Later Equative Construction'; cf. Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghailge', p. 256 § 6.10. The use of *com 'X' fri* may be as old as the second half of the eighth century as there is an example in the poems attributed to Blathmac which may be the earliest attestation: see *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan*, ed. by Carney, p. 66, § 197: *comchoem* (MS *comcaomb*).

attested here, therefore, would not tend necessarily to support the view that the direction of borrowing was from the poetry to the prose; in fact, in this case, the reverse might seem more plausible.

Example 2

Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Ríagla (Prose v)

Bennachsat iar sain dona henaib 7 *imrait* **co tir** n-uathmuir i *mbatar* **daíne co cendaib con co mogaib** ceatra foraib. **Do-thæd clereach** chucu **asinn indsi** la forcongra nDé dia forithin ar ba gabudh doib and cen biadh 7 do-ber doib **iasc 7 fin 7 cruithneacht**.

34. **Bendachs**at ocon chrunn ceolach,
cuairt gach gaire,
la seol sidhe
lotar **dochum tire** aile.

35. d-condcatar and **duine imdha**
co ndelb ndreachdhai,
la himle on
co cindo chon co moing eachdha.

36. Airchisis dib an fer cetna,
Crist co n-iris,
do-luid clereach
co mét cubais **asan inis**.

37. Tuc an cleireach co meit suite,
soirche sruithreach,
do muntir an righ
iasc 7 fin 7 cruithneacht.

Echtra Chlérech Coluim Chille §§ 45–7

Ocus tangadar ar lebarthonnaib na dilind, 7 adchonncadar inis alaind, 7 croind duillecha dosmora dathailli inti ... **Adchondcadar daíne** dimora drochcumtha inti. Ocus is amlaid **ro badar**, 7 **monga ech fortho**, 7 **cind chon** forro fos, 7 corpa duine accu ... Adchonncadar **iar scis n-imrama** [= *Immram* § 4] arachind isan chaentracht **clerech** sruithgel sidamail co casail find ime ... Anaid sund, ar se ... 7 dogebthái **iasc 7 fin 7 cruithneacht**.²⁷

Once again the linguistic picture presented here is not entirely clear. Many of the phrases common to both prose and poetry in the *Immram* show similar or identical forms. The prose preserves nasalization twice after nouns in the accu-

²⁷ *Merugud* § 9: do gabadur ac taistel in mara cithmoir coimlethain co facadair oilén aluind ele uatha 7 *croinn* duillecha do[s]mora dathaille ann ... 7 daíne ardmora inganntacha innti co comaib imdroma each 7 co cennaib con 7 co corpaib daíne ... Nir cian doibh *mur* sin co facadur senoir fir-álainn foltcaem cuca 7 casair find uime ... 7 adbert riu anadh aigi teora lá 7 teora aidchi. *Sechbrán* p. 392.7–20: Atcondcatar a cend athaidh iar sin oilen oili 7 croind duillecha dosmhóra and ... Daine imda uathmara ardmora 'san indse go cendaib *con* 7 co mogaib ech 7 gu corpuib daíne ... 7 fuaratar ar an traigh senoir 7 sruth-ecna co cassair fuil find ime ... 'Anaid abuss', ar se ... Roansad ann go cend *tri* la 7 teora n-oidhce.

sative singular, *co tir n-uathmuir* and *la forcongra nDé*, while the verse has additional unhistorical nasalization in *co ndelb ndreachdhai*, but this is not untypical in chevilles. The poetry uses the nominative singular for the dative singular (*asan inis* [: *iris*]) for the sake of rhyme, while the poetry attests the historically correct dative singular form and a more conservative (if intermediary) form of the article (*asinn indsi*). The prose has the standard dative plural form after the preposition *co* (*co cendaib*), while the poetry uses a variant accusative plural form in its place (*co cindo*). Many more examples of such overlapping between the prose and poetry of the *Immram* could be cited.

The close parallels that have been noted between the iterative use of the poetry and the actual wording of the prose do not apply in the opening section of the *Immram*, however, where the first three-quarters of the opening prose introduction does not reflect the poetic source. Commentators thus far have tended to see this disconnect as evidence that the author of the *Immram* attempted to provide a suitable prose beginning and context for the subsequent narrative, one not predicated upon close reworking of the poem.²⁸ To illustrate this point, here follow the introductory prose and poetic sections:

Example 3

Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Riagla (Prose i)

Bui dochraite mor for Feraib Rois **iar ndith Domnaill** maic Ædha maic Ainmi-reach 7 ba he fochond a ndochraide iar ngabail Erind do macaib Mæl Coba tar eis Domnaill. Batar maic Domnaill i rríghi Chenéoil Conaill 7 Fer Rois .i. Dondchud 7 Fiacho. Dondchad ar Tír Conaill 7 Fiacho ar Feraib Rois. Ba mor a ndocraidside ic Fiacho ar ní leicthi arm na hedach datha ic neoch dib ar níptar riaraigh do rig riam reme-sin 7 ba hadbul meit a foghnoma. Bliadain do Fiacho a rríghi forro. Dia bliadna tic Fiacho co hInber mBoinne 7 gairmthir chuide Firu Rois. As-bert friu: ‘Denaig foghnom beos’. ‘Ní foil ocoinn ní as mo’, ar siat. As-bert-som friu: ‘Tabraidh uar sele uile for mo dernaind’. Do-berad 7 ba hamlaid bai an sele 7 a leth di fuil. As-bert-som and-sidhe: ‘Ní fuil uar foghnom techta foruib béous ar ní fuil uile an saile. Cuirigh na tulcha isna fantaib corop tir. Clandaigh fedha isna muighib corbad caillte’. Ba hand-sin do eirigh oss allaid a comgaire doib. Eirgid uile muindter in righ a ndiaidh ind ois. Ba hand-sin gabsat Fir Roiss a armo fén don righ ar ní raibe arm ic neoch dib-seom 7 ro marbsat he iarom. Ba holc la brathair la

²⁸ Clancy, ‘Subversion at Sea’, p. 215: ‘The second version [...] follows very closely the plot and language of the first version [...]. Its style is the short, concise narrative prose of the early medieval period. Its major innovation is the longer introduction, which gives the reasons for the exile of the Fir Rois.’

Dondchad an *gnim*-sin 7 do-thæt 7 gabais ar braigtib eat uile 7 do-ber i n-oentech dia loscodh. Ba hand-sin as-*bert-som* fesin: ‘Ní coir dam in *gnim*-so do *denom* cen chomairle fri m’anmcharait fri Colum Cille.’ Tiaghar uadh co Colum Cille. Ticc Snedhghus 7 Mac Riaghla o Cholum Cille co comairle leo dó .i. sesca lanamna do chor dib isan fairrge 7 co rucad Dia a breith forro. Do-*bertar* eathair beca doib 7 curter forsín fairge 7 tiaghar dia comedh *conna* tístais ar culo.

Impait for culo **Snédghus 7 Mac Riaghail** do dol co hI co **Colum Cille**. *Amal* batar ina curoch im-ráidhset etorro dul assa ndeoin isand ocían n-imeachtrach a n-ailitri *amal* do-chotar in sessca lanamna cencop assa ndeoin do-chotar-sidhe. Impaaid iarum desel 7 nodo-séiti gæth sel siartúaidh isan n-ocían n-imeachtrach. Iar tredhinus doib iarom **nos-geib ellscodh ítad** moire corbo difulaing doib. Ba hand-sin **airchisis Críst** doib 7 dos-ber **for sruth somblas amal lemnacht 7 sassaithe** dhe. Atlaigit buidhe do Dia 7 as-berat: ‘**Lecam** ar n-*imrum* do Dia 7 tabrum **ar rama** inar **nói**’; 7 leac[ait] iar *sin* a n-*imrom* a ænur 7 do-berad a rama ina nóí 7 iar tiachtain doib is and as-*bert* an fer dana:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Snedhghus 7 Mac Riaghail
do munntir Coluim Chille ,
ros-bui do brig,
ro charsad rig flatha nime. | 2. A rroldatar fairrgi fergaidh,
fedma comluind,
i tosach flatha Domncodha
iar ndith Domnaill . |
| 3. Dos-rala for mor di ruinib De,
din nad gairde,
i <i>nn</i> -indsib inn aceoin uathaigh
osin fairrgi. | 4. ‘Iar sciss imruma iar trib laithib,
luadh co nglaine,
maith ro n-icadh
ron-gab ellscod ítadh aire . |
| 5. Ro airchis dind Críst mac Muire,
mo gach iris,
a codhle cruth
ron-la for sruth mblasta milis’. | 6. Ro sássta in brathair buada,
brig nad mergart,
do lin tsomblas
coro idhnacht amal lemnacht . |
| 7. ‘ Leiccem ass imrum ar curaigh,
cuairt co tende,
do Críst mad tol
cid fó cid for beos beme’. | 8. Bit a rrama for lar a nói ,
ma[s] fass cuile,
Rí feig findglan
‘bith ar n- imram la Mac Muire’. |

Only a complete linguistic analysis of the prose and the poetry, particularly where they overlap, will allow us to refine our understanding of the relationship between the constituent elements of the *Immrām*. However, we may note the following; (1) The prose and the poetry share very similar wording in places, one obviously drawing on the other and, similar to previous scholars, I would take the poetry as primary; (2) we cannot rule out the possibility that parts of the prose *Immrām* may have been composed at the same time as the poetry and that consequently (though less probably), the *Immrām* may always have

been a prosimetric text, though not adhering to the extant presentation; and (3) as noted above, the opening section of the prose may be a later addition to the *Immrám*, as it hardly draws upon the poetic source at all. Coincidentally, it contains the only two independent object pronouns (instead of the older infixed pronouns) in the whole text (*ro marbsat he iarom* ‘they killed him then’ and *gabais ar braigtib eat uile* ‘he took them all prisoners’); this also points in the same direction.

Similarly, a minute textual study of the relationship between the *Echtra* and the *Immrám* is also a desideratum. For example, later (rather than earlier) sections of the *Echtra* show much closer textual correspondences with the *Immrám*, particularly with the wording of the prose. Since the *Echtra* reworks substantial sections of the *Immrám*, and since there are strong stylistic reasons for placing the *Echtra* in the twelfth century,²⁹ the *terminus ad quem* for the construction of the prosimetric *Immrám* would seem to be the first half of the twelfth century, perhaps at the same time as the prose was composed. Notwithstanding the varying dates of composition of the *Immrám* and the *Echtra*, the irony is that both survive solely in the composite manuscript, the Yellow Book of Lecan;³⁰ indeed the *Immrám* (in cols 391–95) and the *Echtra* (in cols 707–15) are to be found in the original part of the Yellow Book, called variously the ‘Yellow Book of Lecan Proper’ and ‘Ciothruadh’s Yellow Book of Lecan.’³¹ Furthermore, the last paragraph of the prose and the final ten verses of the poem of the *Immrám* have been copied practically verbatim into the *Echtra* where they also serve as its conclusion.

In the *Immrám*, both prose and poetry, the people who kill their overking, Fiácha, belong to a population group known as Fir Rois. Their crime is spelt out explicitly in the opening prose (given in Example 3 above). Fir Rois are also the subject of the poetry, though mentioned by name only once in stanza forty-eight:

‘Do-rochair Fiacha mac Domnaill,
derba samla,
la Fíru Roiss;
ro gab foss i nn-uir a adhbha.’

²⁹ It is written in an extended format replete with alliteration, runs and repetition characteristic of some twelfth-century narratives: see Mac Gearailt, ‘The Language of Some Late Middle Irish Texts’.

³⁰ On the manuscript, see Best, ‘The Yellow Book of Lecan’; Ó Muraíle, ‘Athchuaire ar Lámhscríbhinní Chonnacht’, pp. 43–46.

³¹ Oskamp, ‘The Yellow Book of Lecan Proper’; O’Sullivan, ‘Ciothruadh’s Yellow Book of Lecan’; Ó Concheanainn, ‘Scríobhaithe Leacáin Mhic Fhir Bhisigh’, pp. 152–56.

(‘Fiachu son of Domnall fell by Fir Rois, certain [the] descriptions, he has been laid to rest in the earth of his abode.’)

However, beginning with the *Echtra*, and preserved in both the *Merugud* and the *Sechrán*, the people who kill Fíacha are said to belong to two population groups: Fir Rois and Mugdorna Maigen. Fir Rois, whose territory straddled the Monaghan/Louth border around Carrickmacross (Carraig Mhachaire Rois), probably first came to independent prominence in the early ninth century.³² Their rise seems to have separated the various Mugdorna branches from each other.³³ Thus, Mugdorna Maigen, who were located around the parish of Donaghmoynne to the north of Carrickmacross, are first noticed in the annals in *AU* 802.6 while Mugdorna Breg (to the south of Fir Rois in Brega) make their first annal appearance in *AU* 812.3,³⁴ though the broader term Mugdorna is still used to refer to one or both of these branches for a considerable period afterwards.³⁵ Later, the major area of Fir Rois operations seems to have shifted east into Louth; they gave their name to the cantred of Ferros (from 1190), equivalent to the modern barony of Ardee.³⁶ This shift east may be the impetus for the textual addition of Mugdorna Maigen because, during the twelfth century, while the territory of Louth including Fir Rois was a source of contention between the dioceses of Armagh and Clogher, Mugdorna Maigen was completely in the diocese of Clogher.³⁷ In the *Echtra* § 5, Colum Cille decrees that the territory of both Fir Rois and Mugdorna Maigen should be given to to

³² In *Bethú Phátraic*, ed. by Mulchrone, l. 2160, the territory of Fir Rois is given as extending *ó thá Lerca cu Léire* (as far as Dunleer, co. Louth).

³³ Mugdorna were situated mainly in south Co. Monaghan in the baronies of Farney and Cremorne (Crích Mugdorn) and in northern Brega.

³⁴ *The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131)*, ed. by Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill [*AU*]. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, p. 117, considers Fir Rois to be ‘genealogically related to the Airthir of Armagh’, while Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 574, thinks them to be a kingdom of Mugdorna.

³⁵ Mac Cotter, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 238–39.

³⁶ Mac Cotter, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 237. See Mac Íomhair, ‘The Boundaries of Fir Rois’; Mac Íomhair, ‘The History of Fir Rois’.

³⁷ See Gwynn, ‘Armagh and Louth in the Twelfth Century’, p. 4: sometime shortly after 1135, the diocesan centre of Clogher was ‘moved from Clogher to the church of St Mary at Louth; and the whole of the territory that we now know as the county of Louth became for a period of some sixty years the eastern portion of the diocese of Clogher.’ This move of diocesan centre may have happened while St Malachy was archbishop of Armagh (1129–37) and his brother, Christian Ua Morgair, was bishop of Clogher (1135–38).

Patrick as punishment for the heinous crime committed; this may be read as a broad statement of claim on behalf of Armagh, a claim that is particularly significant in a text associated with the Columban federation.³⁸ Such a statement makes most sense during the near forty-year primacy in Armagh of Gilla Meic Liac mac Diarmata (†1174), when Armagh was seeking the reinstatement of Louth as part of its diocese from Clogher.³⁹ The Columban connection is also apposite as Gilla Meic Liac was abbot of Derry before his appointment as archbishop of Armagh.⁴⁰ Thus, not only is the *Echtra* promoting Louth's return as part of the diocese of Armagh, it is also advocating that Armagh should acquire a further part of Clogher diocese.

The authors of the various versions of 'Voyaging' also draw explicit parallels with certain other texts. For example, in verse forty-two of the *Immram* we find the phrase 'Mac De don-fe':

'Canaid beos', ol an cleirech,
sorcho leghend,
"Mac De don-fe",
is he longaire ban Erind.'

('Sing more', said the cleric, brighter than learning, "May the Son of God guide us,"
it is the melody of the women of Ireland.')

This seems to be a deliberate echo of the famous Old Irish hymn attributed to Colmán moccu Clúasaig, 'Sén Dé don-fé' (May the blessing of God guide us).⁴¹ This connection is made explicit in the *Echtra* (§ 50) where the author reworks his source to quote (imperfectly) the opening half of the first quatrain: 'Sen De donfe, Mac Maire ronfela' (May the blessing of God guide us, may the Son

³⁸ Clancy, 'Subversion at Sea', pp. 219–20, argues that the mention in the *Echtra* § 4 (and subsequently in the *Merugud* and the *Sechrán*) of Saint Rónán of Dromiskin and Maine mac Néill as the 'chief protectors' (*ardcomairgi*) of Fir Rois and Mugdorna Maigen after they kill Fiacha would also point to a period of composition for the *Echtra* in the later twelfth century. By the thirteenth century, Dromiskin was 'a manor of the archbishop of Armagh': Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 539.

³⁹ This was ultimately realised in the thirteenth century: see Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 92–93; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, pp. 126–27.

⁴⁰ For the close connections between Armagh and Derry at this period, see Bannerman, 'Comarba Coluim Chille and the Relics of Columba', pp. 35–43.

⁴¹ *The Irish 'Liber hymnorum'*, ed. by Bernard and Atkinson, I, 25–31; II, 12–16; *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. by Stokes and Strachan, II, 298–306. In 'The Poetic Version', trans. by Ó hAodha, p. 425 n. 36, this phrase is considered to be 'a variant version of the opening line of the hymn'.

of Mary shelter us).⁴² The transmission in the *Merugud* (§ 11) is very corrupt ('Sinne · da[r]-faesum [?] Mic Mure') while the most faithful version is to be found in the *Sechrán*: 'Sen De donfe for don te mac Muiri ronfelathar'.⁴³ Thus, the authors of the 'Voyaging' deliberately allude to 'Colmán's Hymn', with the author of the *Echtra* (followed in the later texts) ensuring that there should be no misunderstanding about what is being referenced.

Such referencing of other compositions is a notable feature of the *Echtra* where we read:

Ocus cathair a mullach an craind, 7 en mor inti, 7 cend oir forsan eon sin, 7 eitida airgid fair, 7 is ed ro chanadh in t-en o maidin co tert, cacha nderna Dia do maith re tuistin a dul, 7 o thert co medhon lai scela geni 7 baisteda Maic De 7 a eserghi 7 a adnacoil, 7 ro indisead o trath nona amach scela lai bratha.

(In the top of the tree was a throne with a great bird thereon, and on that bird a head of gold and wings of silver. And what the bird used to sing was, from matins to tierce, all the good that God wrought before the creation of His elements, and, from tierce to midday, tidings of the birth and baptism of the Son of God, and His resurrection and burial, and, from none onward, tidings of the Day of Judgment.)⁴⁴

Here, we seem to have a deliberate reference to the Middle Irish homily, *Scéla Lai Brátha* 'Tidings of Judgement Day',⁴⁵ and, as pointed out to me by Elizabeth Boyle, most likely an allusion to the Middle Irish *Scéla na Esérgi* 'Tidings of the Resurrection'.⁴⁶ This naming occurs just before the beginning of the *Echtra*'s abridged version of *Fís Adomnáin* (§§ 14–44) though its title is not mentioned. These two texts are preserved solely in *Lebor na hUidre*, immediately following on from *Fís Adomnáin*.⁴⁷ Thus, there is a compelling context to read these

⁴² *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. by Stokes and Strachan, II, 299: 'Sén Dé donfé fordonté. Macc Maire ronfeladar' (God's blessing lead us, help us! May Mary's Son cover us).

⁴³ *Sechrán*, p. 394.27.

⁴⁴ 'The Adventure of St Columba's Clerics', ed. by Stokes, 138–39 § 12.

⁴⁵ 'Tidings of Doomsday', ed. by Stokes; *Mil na mBeach*, ed. by Walsh, pp. 62–68; *Lebor na hUidre*, ed. by Best and Bergin, pp. 77–81, ll. 2302–493. See Boyle, 'Eschatological Justice'.

⁴⁶ *Scéla na Esérgi*, ed. by O'Beirne Crowe; 'Tidings of the Resurrection', ed. by Stokes; *Mil na mBeach*, ed. by Walsh, pp. 69–78; *Lebor na hUidre*, ed. by Best and Bergin, pp. 82–88, ll. 2494–763. See Boyle, 'Neoplatonic Thought in Medieval Ireland'.

⁴⁷ Boyle, 'Eschatological Justice', p. 52: 'Not only does [*Fís Adomnáin*] share certain theological, and particularly eschatological, features with *Scéla Lai Brátha*, but [its] concluding section [...] is an extended description of the *civitas Dei* [...]. This comes after what would be the more obvious conclusion for the text, and is probably unique to the *Lebor na hUidre* version

words as referring specifically to the titles of these two texts as well as to the events described therein.

It is worth noting that the passage just cited is a deliberate literary development of sections of the *Immrám*, which read (in the prose):

Prose iv) Nodo-seite an gæth iar sin co hinnsi a mbúi crand mor co n-enlaith alaind. Bui en mor uaso co cind óir 7 co n-etib argait 7 indhisidh scela tossaigh domain doib 7 indisidh gen *Críst* o Mairi oigh 7 a bathais 7 a césadh 7 a eiseirghi 7 indisidh scela bratha.

(The wind blew them then to an island where there was a large tree with a beautiful flock of birds. Above it there was a large bird with a head of gold and with silver wings and he related stories of the beginning of the world to them and he told them about the birth of Christ from the Virgin Mary and of his baptism, his passion and his resurrection, and he related tidings of Judgement.)

and in the following poetry (verses 25–27):

25. Ro proictigh doib
ant en coir co n-uaisle ruine,
a ndo-rigne
Dia do maith ria tuistin duile.

(The just bird preached to them with nobility of purpose of the good that God had done before the creation of the elements.)

26. Pridchais gen *Críst* on oig erdhairc,
hesnad gresach,
etir batais
7 eiseirghi 7 cessad.

(He preached about the birth of Christ from the famous virgin, perpetual singing, including [His] baptism, resurrection and passion).

27. In tan pritcais scela bratha,
buidnib litha,
do tuairc[tis] diu
a n-eite friu comtis scitha.

(When he preached stories about Judgement to the auspicious companies, they used to strike their wings against themselves for a long time until tired.)

[...] certainly it is not found in any of the other extant manuscript copies. In style and in tone the passage bears a close resemblance to *Scéla Laí Brátha*.⁷

The author of the *Echtra* has deliberately manipulated the wording here to reference not just these seminal happenings in the life of Christ but also the compositions concerning these events which were extant in medieval Ireland.⁴⁸

It is difficult to be entirely sure about the disparate contexts under which the various versions of the 'Voyaging' came into being.⁴⁹ It seems most likely that the *Immram* poem was composed in the period 989–1007 'when the monastic communities of Patrick and Colum Cille were under joint headship'.⁵⁰ Two plausible dating contexts for the composition of the *Immram* prose have been put forward: Thomas Owen Clancy suggests the last decade of the eleventh century,⁵¹ while Tomás G. Ó Canann would prefer a date of 1113–19.⁵² It is difficult to be certain which of these opinions is more likely to be correct. The mention of 'Daire' in the *Echtra* (§ 7) would seem to place its composition before Derry's decline in importance in the 1170s,⁵³ while the *Sechrán* was created in response to the need to collect and rework multitudinous sources, including the *Merugud*, in the construction of *Betha Colaim Chille*.

The possible contexts for the composition of the *Merugud* itself, a text that seems to be composite in nature with the poetry perhaps older than the prose, are as yet unexamined. It draws heavily on the *Echtra* that underpins the reworked prose in the narrative,⁵⁴ adding thirty-seven stanzas to the tale, the

⁴⁸ This was not continued by the authors of the *Merugud* (§ 7) nor of the *Sechrán* (p. 390.16–19) where the connections with *Scéla na Esérge* and *Scéla Láí Brátha* are not made explicit.

⁴⁹ I draw heavily in what follows on 'The Voyaging of St Columba's Clerics', ed. by Murray, pp. 762–74.

⁵⁰ This suggestion is indebted to the similar argument advanced with regard to the compilation of *Liber Hymnorum* by Herbert, 'Crossing Historical and Literary Boundaries', p. 89.

⁵¹ Because of the possible apocalyptic panic in Ireland in that decade (especially around 1096) and because of the mention in the text of Colum Cille's flabellum (*cuilebad*) which is noticed in the annals *s.a.* 1090: see Clancy, 'Subversion at Sea', pp. 221–22. On the significance of 1096, see Boyle, 'The Rhetoric and Reality of Reform' (and references to further scholarship cited therein).

⁵² Ó Canann, 'The Political Context', p. 133. He would see Fíacha as a 'thinly-disguised literary surrogate for Niall mac Domnaill' who was intruded as king of Tír Conaill by his father, Domnall Mac Lochlainn, the Cenél nEógain high king.

⁵³ Clancy, 'Subversion at Sea', p. 220, gives reasons for favouring 1165 as its date of composition.

⁵⁴ This is evident from the notes to examples 1–2 above (footnotes 25 and 27) which supply the *Merugud* and *Sechrán* material equivalent to the passages from the *Immram* and the *Echtra*.

majority of which are also reused in the *Sechrán*. However, the *Merugud* contains no mention of *Fís Adomnáin*, an interpolation, which makes up nearly half of the surviving copy of the *Echtra*.⁵⁵ Unless we see this as a deliberate omission, it may be that the *Merugud* does not draw directly on the Yellow Book of Lecan text but on an earlier source instead, perhaps the same manuscript text (or one very similar to it) that underpins the copy in the Yellow Book of Lecan.⁵⁶

It should be obvious from the foregoing that intertextual analysis is a crucial element in studying the various versions of the ‘Voyaging’.⁵⁷ Indeed, Barbara Hilliers has pointed out with regard to the *immram* tales in general that we need to consider them ‘as a *corpus*, not only of related stories sharing similar concerns and motifs, but also as a group of interconnected *texts*. However much some of the *immrama* may owe to what David Dumville calls “external influences”, they owe a still greater debt to other *immrama*’.⁵⁸ This statement holds true for *Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Riagla* as it has been suggested that its verses may have provided the model for the poetry of *Immram Curaig Máile Dúin*, ‘The Voyage of Máel Dúin’s Boat’.⁵⁹ Thus, not only does it have intertextual links with other versions of the same narrative, it also has such connections with other tales in the same genre. However, much more work needs to be done to tease out the contexts, contents and interrelationships of all these various versions of the ‘Voyaging’ of St Columba’s clerics.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ The relationships between the various witnesses to *Fís Adomnáin* have been investigated in detail in ‘*Fís Adomnáin*’, ed. by Carey.

⁵⁶ It is possible that the *Fís Adomnáin* interpolation was only added to the text of the *Echtra* as it was being copied into the Yellow Book of Lecan. However, Clancy, ‘Subversion at Sea’, pp. 220–21, would see the inclusion of *Fís Adomnáin* as original to the construction of the *Echtra* in the twelfth century, and as an intentional echo of the building of Derry’s new church.

⁵⁷ Recent examinations of intertextuality in medieval Irish studies include: Herbert, ‘*Fled Dúin na nGéd*: A Reappraisal’; Downey, ‘Intertextuality in *Echtra mac nEchdach Mugmedóin*’; Fogarty, ‘*Aided Guill meic Carbada 7 Aided Gairb Glinne Rige*’.

⁵⁸ Hilliers, ‘Voyages between Heaven and Hell’, p. 74.

⁵⁹ Thurneysen, ‘Zur keltischen Literatur und Grammatik’, § 2 (‘Zu Maelduins Meerfahrt’, 278–81, at 278); *Immrama*, ed. by van Hamel, pp. 80–81; Clancy, ‘Subversion at Sea’, p. 198.

⁶⁰ I wish to thank Prof. Pádraig Ó Riain for his helpful comments on the final draft of this essay.

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TRANSLATING A TRADITION: THE *RUNE POEMS* OF ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND AND MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA

Tom Birkett

Introduction

The evidence for textual migration between Old English and Old Norse literary culture is often difficult to interpret in terms of direct transmission. In certain areas of the British Isles, Anglo-Scandinavian relations were both intimate and protracted, and there were clearly opportunities for the poetic traditions to influence one another — not least under the rule of the Danish kings in England in the eleventh century. Connections range from Norse loan-words employed in Anglo-Saxon poetry,¹ to literary accounts of the same historical events from Anglo-Saxon and Norse perspectives and translations of the same source texts (for example, the OE *Distichs of Cato* and ON *Hugvinnsmál*), as well as numerous analogues based on a less-tangible shared Germanic inheritance.² However, the main body of material that we know as Old Norse-Icelandic literature was written down long after the Norman Conquest of Anglo-Saxon England, the

¹ For one interesting example of this phenomenon, see *The Battle of Maldon*, which Fred Robinson suggests contains the first literary use of dialect in the Viking messenger's speech, including Scandinavian loan-words such as *grið* (truce) and poetic compounds such as *gǫrræs* (storm of spears); see Robinson, 'Some Aspects of the Maldon Poet's Artistry'.

² For a range of pertinent analogues of genre, theme, and poetic style in Old English and Old Norse, see Calder and others, *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry*. For accessible surveys of analogues and influence, see Frank, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Poetic Relations', and Bjork, 'Scandinavian Relations'.

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technology of book production introduced to Iceland at some point after the conversion around *c.* 1000, and literary output reaching its zenith in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus, when a connection between specific texts is observed — such as that between *Beowulf* and *Grettis saga* — we have to account for a chronological gap of up to four hundred years: in terms of the migration of texts a ‘long arm of coincidence’ indeed.³

Of course, the Icelanders were not technically illiterate before the arrival of Christianity and the introduction of a manuscript culture. Whether or not we agree with Moltke’s thesis that the runic script originated in Denmark,⁴ runes were in use in Scandinavia from the earliest period, though it is fair to say that they played an insignificant role in the transmission of literature, which circulated orally before (and for a long time after) the introduction of the book. Runes were typically used for short inscriptions, often commemorative, and though knowledge of a runic tradition is clearly demonstrated in Icelandic manuscripts, the corpus of inscriptions from Iceland is relatively small,⁵ and almost non-existent before the writing of the oldest preserved manuscript texts.⁶ The migration of runic material into the pages of manuscripts is a tradition shared in late Anglo-Saxon England, at a period when the English version of the runic script had all but ceased to be used for inscriptions. Indeed, the adoption of the ‘þ’ and ‘p’ runes to supplement the Latin alphabet as well as the practice of using certain runic characters as abbreviations in medieval Iceland may even have been directly influenced by Anglo-Saxon scribal practice.⁷

The runic tradition, its transmission to Anglo-Saxon England and Iceland (in rather different forms), and its subsequent employment within manuscripts, is an example of the broad cultural contiguity of the two cultures and also serves to highlight the difficulty of identifying specific migrations of practice as distinct from a shared cultural and literary inheritance. There is, however, a particular context where the runic and literary traditions intersect, in the form of the rune poems of Anglo-Saxon England, Norway, and Iceland.

³ Fjalldal, *The Long Arm of Coincidence*.

⁴ Moltke, *Runes and their Origins*, pp. 64–65.

⁵ The Samnordisk runtextdatabas/Scandinavian Runic Text Database lists forty-nine inscriptions from Iceland, the vast majority of these dating to the thirteenth century or later. <<http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm>> [accessed 1 June 2015].

⁶ The tradition may even have been reintroduced to Iceland from Norway in the medieval period rather than continuing uninterrupted from the Viking Age; Bæksted, *Islands runeindskrifter*, p. 20.

⁷ Barnes, *Runes: A Handbook*, pp. 153–54.

According to Shippey, these poetic treatments of the rune names in their traditional *fubark/fuþorc* order ‘overlap enough to hint at a common Germanic origin’⁸ and provide us with the possibility to explore the problematic migration of texts between these literary milieus within a more discrete framework.

The Rune Poem Tradition

Whilst there can be no doubt that the various manifestations of the rune poems are related by their similar conceit and certain conventional details, the nature of this connection is by no means self-evident, and the process of reconstructing the tradition is fraught with an almost paradigmatic series of complications. The OE *Rune Poem* was recorded in a tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript copied in 1705 (possibly with emendations by the editor) shortly before it was destroyed in the Cotton Library fire, whilst a Norwegian version survives in three copies of one or more manuscripts of a thirteenth-century poem, and the earliest witness to a distinct (and diverse) Icelandic tradition dates to c. 1500. Not only are we dealing with a tradition that spans the entire remit of this volume, 1000–1500, but one that stretches across a vast geographical area, and that shows extensive variation in style and content even within the Scandinavian context. Certainly, none of the three distinct strands of the rune poem tradition are similar enough to entertain the idea of direct transmission via a written exemplar, and attempts to rationalize the transmission of the poems have ranged from scepticism about any direct links beyond the use of traditional names, to attempts to reconstruct a Germanic *ur*-text, often based on the assumption that the poems reflect an early belief system, a form of sortilege, or even fossilized ritual practice.⁹ Unfortunately, speculative reconstruction has proven to be a lucrative business, and popular books claiming to harness the power of the runes or ‘reintroduce an ancient Oracle’ use the rune poems as a mine for all kinds of nonsense about the supposed ritual function and divinatory power of the script.¹⁰ But even academic studies with no

⁸ Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English*, p. 19.

⁹ Extreme examples include Agrell, *Runornas talmystik och dess antika förebild*, and Schneider, *Die germanische Runennamen*; for an academic engagement with the concept of sortilege, see Osborn, ‘Hleotan and the Purpose of the *Old English Rune Poem*’, p. 172, in which the author suggests a ‘fusion of native and foreign elements’ perhaps inspired by literary accounts of runic divination rather than any genuine tradition.

¹⁰ Blum, *The Book of Runes*, p. 19.

reconstructive agenda often conceive of the transmission of the poems in terms of three late witnesses to an ancient Germanic poetic tradition, and ultimately, a shared source that left its imprint not just in terms of the conceit, but in certain conventional details.¹¹

In contrast to the view of many earlier scholars that the poems derive from a shared *Grundform*, the editor of the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records edition of the poem suggests that the numerous similarities 'rest upon the independent use of traditional popular material',¹² whilst Halsall has further expanded on this summation by arguing that any connections between the rune poems can be explained 'by ordinary rune lore on the one hand [...] and by the shared word-hoard of alliterative formulas on the other'.¹³ Both editors cast doubt on the existence of an *ur*-poem, and thus open up a new model of textual relationships rooted in a shared literary inheritance. Of course, Halsall's suggestion that the primary impetus for the Old English poem was a Latin *abecedarium*, or alphabet poem, raises the question of whether the Norwegian and Icelandic poems were also inspired independently by Latin models,¹⁴ or alternatively betray the influence of the English tradition. The migration of material from England to Scandinavia is a possibility allowed for in F. G. Jones's study of the poems,¹⁵ though more recent commentators have argued that both the notion of independent development and direct literary migration are less tenable than the idea of 'a form inherited from Germanic antiquity'.¹⁶ Clunies Ross, in a particularly influential study, argues for the 'congruent character' of the evolution of the three traditions, suggesting much greater affinity between the surviving poems than Halsall allows for, and assuming a pre-existing rune poem tradition, if not a hypothetical archetype.¹⁷ Whilst each new approach to the poems increases our understanding of their complexities, on the question of the transmission of the tradition the verdict is still very much out.

¹¹ Critics committed to the idea of a shared archetype have included Meyer, 'Runenstudien. II', and Malone, *A Literary History of England*, p. 34, who posits an original poem of short verses from which the three surviving poems are all descended. Many more recent studies of the OE *Rune Poem* assume such a connection by supplying supporting evidence from the Scandinavian tradition, or suggesting older functions of the conceit.

¹² Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, p. xlviii.

¹³ *The Old English Rune Poem*, ed. by Halsall, p. 38.

¹⁴ *The Old English Rune Poem*, ed. by Halsall, p. 45.

¹⁵ Jones, 'The Old English *Rune Poem*: An Edition', p. 18.

¹⁶ Fulke and Cain, *A History of Old English Literature*, p. 177.

¹⁷ Clunies Ross, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norse *Rune Poems*'.

I see no reason to doubt that the tradition of a verse exposition of the runes existed from an early stage and was inherited alongside the lists of rune names, but there is little evidence that this tradition amounted to a Germanic *ur*-poem, or was inherited as a fully formed text. Indeed, the earliest surviving poetic response to the names of the runes is the ninth-century *Abececlarium Nordmannicum* preserved in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 878, and probably originating from the monastery at Fulda: a piece of mnemonic ‘doggerel’ that is probably better classed as a rune-rhyme than a poem.¹⁸ Rather than conceiving of the alteration of an original poem by means of successive stages of copying or an oral archetype passed between Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia (or indeed, between Norway and Iceland), we might think about how ‘significant similarities’¹⁹ between texts might arise from autonomous compositional moments — rooted in a shared body of oral lore, and supported in this instance by a framework of conventional names.

There have been very fruitful attempts to flesh out the traditional gnomic material circulating in England and Scandinavia,²⁰ and to identify a common background of poetic commonplaces drawn on in the rune poem tradition, dismissed by Page as arising from the ‘same simple minds’ of the poets.²¹ The aim of this examination of the tradition will be to suggest several associations linked to the runic script itself that might help to account for the similarities of form and content, beyond the ‘the names of the runes in traditional sequence’ — the extent of the ‘ordinary rune lore’ that Halsall sees linking the poems.²² The most obvious of these is an association with riddlic play and resolved ambiguity (perhaps linked to the extended meaning of OE *rūn* as ‘mystery’ or ‘secret’²³) as well as an interest in the shape and form of the characters, and what appears to be some attempt at polarization of the rune names into negative and positive groupings. By further delineating the scope of the popular traditional material

¹⁸ Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta*, p. 73. The text begins ‘Feu forman / Úr after’ (Feu first, Úr after); Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*, p. 34.

¹⁹ Clunies Ross, ‘The Anglo-Saxon and Norse *Rune Poems*’, p. 23.

²⁰ For an overview of wisdom poetry and gnomic utterance in Old English and Old Norse Poetry, see Larrington, *A Store of Common Sense*.

²¹ *The Icelandic Rune Poem*, ed. by Page, p. 33.

²² *The Old English Rune Poem*, ed. by Halsall, p. 38.

²³ Though Fell’s discussion of the etymology of *rune* in ‘Runes and Semantics’, still has much to recommend it, recent finds have made it clear that OE *rūn* did encompass both runic character and the wider sense of ‘mystery’; Fell, ‘Runes and Riddles in Anglo-Saxon England’.

from which the poems arose, the idea of independent (but conditioned) compositions becomes more tenable.

The Three Poetic Traditions

All three rune poems represent a short verse treatment of the more or less conventional names of twenty-nine characters of the Anglo-Saxon *futhorc* in the case of the OE *Rune Poem*,²⁴ and those of the reduced sixteen rune younger *fupark* in the case of the Norwegian and Icelandic poems. Though the conceit itself is rather similar in each case, and there are certain overlaps in the poetic exposition of the rune names, the poems themselves are quite different both in terms of style and content, and as Clunies Ross has done much to demonstrate, are heavily inflected by the prevailing literary trends at the time they were written down. The following presentation of the poems will focus on their salient features and provide examples of the verse form, before proceeding to examine the tradition as a whole.

The Old English Tradition

The Old English *Rune Poem* survives as a copy of a manuscript (Cotton MS Otho B.x), destroyed in the Cotton Library fire of 1731. Happily, it had already been transcribed by Humphrey Wanley and published in George Hickes's *Linguarum Septentrionalium Thesaurus*. We are reliant on the transcription skills of Wanley for the text that has come down to us, and the only significant editorial speculation is whether or not the rune names and Roman equivalents for the runic characters were included in the original manuscript, or indeed added to the manuscript by a reader — it may be significant that Hickes was of the opinion that both the Roman letters and the names had been appended,²⁵ and it is also likely that Hickes's own 'tremendous apparatus of

²⁴ Though the order of the first twenty-four letters of the *futhorc* appears to be relatively consistent, different runic alphabets record varying numbers and sequences of additional runes: the Ruthwell Cross inscription, for example, makes use of thirty-one characters, including a 'subtle variant' *ķ* which appears only in this inscription (Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 47), whilst the *futhorc* in Cotton MS Domitian A.ix records thirty-three runes. An additional rune was recognized recently on an eighth century page-turner discovered at Baconsthorpe, suggesting that there may have been even greater flexibility in the adaptation of the writing system. See Hines, 'New Light on Literacy'.

²⁵ Hickes, *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus*, p. 134.

runic erudition' was not present in the original manuscript.²⁶ Halsall, the most recent editor of the poem, dates the manuscript to the latter half of the tenth century and identifies the language as 'unquestionably West Saxon', allowing for a composition date slightly, but not significantly, earlier than the surviving manuscript.²⁷

The poem itself consists of stanzas of varying length (a feature not usually present in Old English poetry) expounding, often in a riddling fashion, on the name of the rune. The first stanza provides a suitable example of the conceit, based around the rune name *feoh* (wealth):

ƿ byþ frōfur fira gehwylcum;
sceal ðēah manna gehwylc miclun hyt dælan
gif hē wile for Drihtne dōmes hlēotan.²⁸

(Wealth is security to all men, though every man ought to distribute it generously, if he desires to be dealt glory before the Lord.)

The Old English *Rune Poem* is the most developed of the three traditions, both in terms of length and literary sensibility. Indeed, some of the stanzas of the poem approach the level of poetic ambiguity and engaged receptiveness to the everyday achieved in the Exeter Book Riddles, with the *āc* (oak) rune skilfully described in terms of two contrasting uses for mankind: acorns feeding flesh (presumably pigs) for the children of men, and the tree providing the wood for ships that traverse the 'gannet's bath' (st. 15). Other objects are treated in a didactic fashion, drawing heavily on the wisdom poetry tradition, and the fact that the final stanza relocates the *ēar* (earth) rune out of its usual sequence and graces it with five lines of verse on the inevitability of an earthly tomb suggests that the Christian moral framework of the poem was an important compositional consideration for the poet. Indeed, I would agree with Halsall that the poem as a whole represents a very successful exposition of the various manifestations of the created world, or the 'mære Meotodes lēoht' (the great Lord's light) (st. 75), presented without the heavy-handed didacticism of some Old English religious verse, and perhaps even representing an extended focus on human mortality, as Halsall suggests.²⁹ In sum, the Old English *Rune Poem*

²⁶ Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, p. xlvii.

²⁷ *The Old English Rune Poem*, ed. by Halsall, p. 29. For a more involved discussion of the transcription and the unique layout of the poem, see Chapter 3 of Birkett, *Reading the Runes*.

²⁸ The text is based on Halsall's edition of the Old English *Rune Poem*; all translations are my own.

²⁹ Halsall, 'Runes and the Mortal Condition in Old English Poetry'.

shares many features of traditional Anglo-Saxon poetic style, is a developed and metrically rigorous piece of literature, and has a distinctly Christian inflection.

The Norwegian Tradition

The Norwegian *Rune Poem* is often compared unfavourably with its English counterpart and has perhaps not been given the credit it deserves as a literary composition. The poem has been dated to the thirteenth century on the basis of its orthography,³⁰ but the earliest witness to this tradition is a copy of a now lost manuscript from the Royal Library in Copenhagen published in Ole Worm's [*Runer*] *seu Danica literatura antiquissima* in 1636, whilst copies of the Norwegian *Poem* were also made later in the seventeenth century by Árni Magnússon and Jón Eggertsson. Worm's version departs from those of Árni and Jón in certain details — including a 'major difference' in the B-line of st. 15 — raising the possibility that he was either attempting to emend the source text (possibly influenced by an oral tradition) or working from a different manuscript.³¹ Alessia Bauer in her comprehensive and methodical study of the rune poems,³² and Page in his essay 'On the Norwegian Rune Poem', have in addition made us aware of several seventeenth-century manuscripts that offer 'alternative and quite early readings that link loosely [...] to [Worm's version] but seem unlikely to derive from it'.³³ Without making any claims to this effect, both Bauer and Page have problematized certain readings used by those seeking to reconstruct a Germanic archetype by making the idea of a definitive text untenable. Any analysis of the poem should be aware that these variants may indicate the existence of several related rune poems within this one tradition, rather than a single piece of codified lore, as well as the possible influence of lingering oral tradition (or knowledge of the Icelandic poem) on the seventeenth-century copyists.

The Norwegian *Rune Poem* consists of sixteen two-line stanzas, with the first line referring directly to the rune name, and the second representing an aphorism or observation that is often only tangentially linked with the first statement. Indeed, this apparent disconnect is the primary reason that the

³⁰ See Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, trans. by Holthausen, p. 276, and Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*, p. 6.

³¹ Page, 'On the Norwegian Rune Poem', pp. 553–56 and 558.

³² Bauer, *Runengedichte*.

³³ Page, 'On the Norwegian Rune Poem', pp. 558–59.

poem has been characterized as lacking unity and having more in common with a children's rhyme. However, recent criticism has done much to draw out the often surprising links between the A and B lines, based on references to myth, literary associations, and even the shape of the rune — suggesting that the poem demands more of its reader than previously acknowledged.³⁴

The first stanza, following the rune named *fē* (wealth), serves both to illustrate this technique, and to demonstrate the obvious connections with the conceit of the Anglo-Saxon *Poem*.

Ƿ vǣldr frǣnda róg;
føðesk ulfr í skóge.³⁵

(Wealth causes conflict among relatives; the wolf grows up in the forest.)

Here the connection between the A and B lines is one of revealing contrast — wealth may cause discord, but the lonely wolf represents the antithesis of human society, an image that may serve as a warning against letting private discord unravel wider social bonds. There may also be an allusion to Norse legendary material here, the wealth surely conjuring up images of the Niflung gold, and perhaps also the earlier episode in *Völsunga saga* in which Sigmund and Sinfjötli are transformed into wolves in their exile, and the father rips out the throat of the son. In both the Norwegian and Old English traditions there is perhaps a shared emphasis on the danger implicit in an otherwise positive category — explicitly in terms of social discord in the Norwegian *Rune Poem*, and by displeasing God through covetousness in the OE *Rune Poem*. This is a feature shared by the Icelandic tradition.

The Icelandic Tradition

Though there are significant overlaps between the treatment of runes in the Scandinavian tradition (and similar names for the sixteen runes of the *fupark*), the form of the Icelandic poems is quite distinct, consisting of three concise poetic paraphrases, which we might broadly define as kennings, the first two linked by alliteration.

³⁴ See, in particular, Liestøl, 'Det norske runediktet', and Clunies Ross, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norse *Rune Poems*'.

³⁵ The text of the Norwegian *Rune Poem* is taken from Halsall's appendices to *The Old English Rune Poem*, which is based on Wimmer's *Die Runenschrift*. Variant readings noted by Page are taken into account in the analysis.

The earliest witness to this distinct Icelandic tradition dates to *c.* 1500 (AM 687d 4°); a second early sixteenth-century manuscript (AM 461 12°) contains significant variations, leading Page to assert that the two earliest manuscripts do not share a common source text.³⁶ Other manuscripts of a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century provenance introduce further variations on the kennings, suggesting that the third element in particular was easily substituted, and raising the possibility that there was not a single original version of the *Poem*.³⁷ Although we might not agree entirely with Page's dismissal of the Icelandic *Poem*'s literary value, the primary impulse seems to be that of the *pula*, or list form, with the rune names serving as an exotic catalogue for the exercise of poetic erudition. This impression is enhanced in the AM 687d 4° manuscript, which includes a Latin gloss for each rune name, and an Old Norse synonym for 'king' beginning with the sound value of the same character. The text is taken from Page's edited and normalized text, which he warns should not be considered definitive due to the many variations.

Ƿ er frænda róg ok fyrða gaman
ok grafseiðs gata.

(Wealth is conflict of relatives and joy of warriors
and the way of the grave-fish [serpent].)

Variant kennings include *fleðar viti* (flood-tide's signal fire), *Fáfnis bani* (bane of Fáfnir), and in one late manuscript *þegna þræta* (retainers' quarrel). There is clearly a connection here with the association of wealth and strife in the Norwegian poem: indeed, the wording of the first kenning is almost identical with the first line of the earlier poem. There is also a parallel in the image of monstrous exile: rather than the wolf in the forest, we have an image of the serpent's path — a connection with mythology that is made explicit in the variants that refer to Fáfnir. Of course, it is difficult to say anything definitive about the poetic nuances of a text that was inherently unstable — the two earliest manuscripts have *fyrða gaman* and *fleðar viti* as the second of the kennings, one a positive concept and the other presumably a reference to the Nieflung gold, in the same category as 'discord amongst relatives' and creating a more cohesive sequence of paraphrases oriented towards conflict.

³⁶ *The Icelandic Rune Poem*, ed. by Page, p. 15.

³⁷ See Barnes, *Runes: A Handbook*, p. 160.

Connecting the Traditions

The examples given above of the exposition of the first rune serve to demonstrate the broadly congruent character of the three witnesses to the rune poem tradition,³⁸ and also the significant differences in form, style, and emphasis, not only between the Old English and Scandinavian treatment of the rune but also within the Scandinavian tradition, and indeed within the Icelandic tradition itself. One shared feature that seems to suggest a relationship beyond that of gnomic commonplace, however, is the fact that the positive aspects of wealth are qualified in each case, though in ways different enough to preclude the idea of a shared archetype. Indeed, a broad congruency in the negative or positive connotations of a particular rune, even when its name varies between the English and Scandinavian traditions, is one of several shared features that may arise from a body of traditional lore circulating alongside the rune lists,³⁹ with certain variations in the OE *Rune Poem* explicable based on a consistent adaptation to the Christian moral framework.

As Shippey points out, it is true that ‘most of the rune-names can be polarized with respect to comfort and discomfort’,⁴⁰ and many of these divisions are natural enough, based on the obvious connotations of the rune name and revealing little about early rune-lore or indeed a putative Germanic archetype. The concept of *nȳd* / *naud̥* (need), for example, is hard to cast in a positive frame of reference, even though the OE poet suggests its ability to transform ‘tō helpe and tō hæle’ (to help and salvation) (st. 10). Similarly, ‘hail’ may be cast as a natural wonder but is hard to characterize positively, though the connection of hail in each of the rune poems with cold grain certainly suggests a common stock of imagery. More intriguingly still, in the treatment of this name there is also an attempt in each poem to transform what was a potentially crop-ruining natural phenomenon into something more positive. In the OE poem it is expressly part of the divine plan, falling from *heofones lyfte* (the heights of heaven) (st. 9), and finally transformed into water, Shippey noting that this is ‘the only hostile rune which is at all qualified’.⁴¹ Interestingly, in the Norwegian

³⁸ For a more detailed analysis of the shared conceptual basis of this first ‘wealth’ stanza, see Clunies Ross, ‘The Anglo-Saxon and Norse *Rune Poems*’, and particularly Fig. 1.

³⁹ For a discussion of the wider structuring of imagery in the OE *Poem* (and suggestions that such symmetry is also present in the Norwegian tradition), see Millar, ‘The Old English *Rune Poem*’.

⁴⁰ Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning*, p. 20.

⁴¹ Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning*, p. 20.

poem the cold grain is also juxtaposed by an image of Christ creating the world, assimilating the negative image of cold grain into a positive, Christian framework. The Icelandic tradition, assiduously avoiding any Christian inflection, still demonstrates a positive turn in the third kenning — hail may be a cold grain and ‘driving sleet’, but it is also *snáka sótt* (sickness of snakes) (st.7), with the variant ‘clouds’ silver’ in one late manuscript.⁴²

Some of these shared associations seem to survive a change in the name of the rune. The aurochs — or wild ox — for example, though undoubtedly a majestic beast, is clearly viewed in terms of violence and ferocity in the OE *Rune Poem* — it is a *mære mörstapa* (a renowned moor-stepper) (st. 2) recalling Grendel, the *maere mearcstapa* who haunts the moors in *Beowulf*.⁴³ In the Norwegian poem the rune *úr* seems to mean ‘dross’, or ‘slag’, which comes from *illu jarne* (bad iron) (st. 2), whilst the Icelandic poem refers to the homonym *úr*, meaning drizzle — which is both ‘crying of the clouds’ and ‘destruction of the hay-harvest’ (st. 2). All three are expressly negative portrayals, despite the shift in meaning, and in the case of the OE *Rune Poem*, a clear opportunity for the poet to use the near homophone *ûre* (our), a substitution which Cynewulf seems to have adopted in several of his runic signatures.⁴⁴ Similarly, ON *þurs* (giant/ogre) and the variant of OE *þorn* (thorn), both emphasize the negative connotations of their subject, despite the change in name. We can compare this enduring negative portrayal to the unequivocally positive depiction of the harvest, without any of the cautionary tone that attends the positive depiction of wealth, gifts and man, and indeed, with a very similar opening statement in all three poems: that the harvest is ‘*gumena hiht / gumna góðe / gumna góði*’ (a boon to men).

The positive connotations of a particular rune also seem to survive a change in name. Thus, the Icelandic tradition has *óss/áss* as the name of the fourth rune, *ᚱ*, meaning ‘(pagan) god’ — with the emphasis in the kennings on creation and nobility — whilst the Norwegian *Poem* plays on the homonym *óss* (river mouth) as the way of journeys, and the OE *Rune Poem* seemingly refers to the Latin homonym meaning ‘mouth’ in its treatment of the *os* rune, avoiding any associations with a pagan frame of reference, but maintaining a posi-

⁴² *The Icelandic Rune Poem*, ed. by Page, p. 36.

⁴³ *The Old English Rune Poem*, ed. by Halsall, p. 106.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 192. For a contrary opinion which suggests the rune was used conceptually to refer to ‘manly strength’, see Elliott, *Runes: An Introduction*, pp. 150–51, and Elliott, ‘Coming Back to Cynewulf’.

tive and aristocratic register — the ‘mouth’ is both a comfort to wise men and the joy and confidence of nobles (st. 4). Whilst it is possible that such broad and enduring congruence is a result of the shared Christian sensibilities of the poets attempting to defuse negative imagery implicit in the name of the rune itself, it is not implausible to suggest that the oral rune lore associated with the rune lists may have amounted to a traditional delineation of rune names into positive and negative categories. Whether implicit in the names or part of an inherited tradition of polarizing the runes into negative and positive categories, in the absence of any archetypal text the individual poet would have been free to interpret and qualify this popular inheritance in a variety of ways.

The conceptual associations of runes are hard to reconstruct in any detail (and rely to a great extent on the rune poems themselves), though other elements of traditional rune lore receive concrete expression outside the poetic tradition, including the division of the *futhorc* to facilitate cryptographic writing. The ‘hail’ and ‘need’ stanzas are unique in the OE *Rune Poem* in consisting of two hypermetric lines, rather than the usual three- or four-line stanzas, and this in itself may be an indication of either their negative associations, or in the case of ‘need’ (having the meaning of ‘constraint’ in Old English), an appropriate formal equivalent to the concept itself. However, the recourse to these unique two-line stanzas may also be important in signaling a feature of the *futhorc* that is not often represented in the alphabets preserved in manuscripts — the traditional division of the runic characters into three *attir*, or groups, of runes (see the figure below).⁴⁵ This division of the runic alphabet survived the reduction and extension of the writing system in Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon England respectively, and allowed for a cryptographic writing practice whereby a rune could be indicated by reference to its grouping and number within this group, usually by means of two sets of marks such as branches on either side of a stave (so called ‘tree runes’).

ƿŋþfr·xp : ht|ǫjcƿz : tβmmi◊mz

The original *attir* division of the 24 character older *futhorc*.

In the OE *Rune Poem* it is noticeable that the first eight stanzas (corresponding to the first *att* or group) all consist of three lines of regular length, the two hypermetric lines that follow (sts 9 and 10) apparently indicating structurally

⁴⁵ One notable exception being the *futhorc* preserved in Cotton MS Domitian A.ix. See Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, p. 82 and Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta*, p. 10.

the start of the next sequence of eight, whilst Halsall also recognizes other breaks in the sequence that ‘thrust into prominence’ the tripartite division.⁴⁶ This attention to stanza length is unparalleled in the OE corpus; indeed, it is highly unusual for Old English verse to be broken into any kind of stanzaic form, and the use of such a division in the OE *Poem* certainly creates a formal congruence with the conventional stanzaic division of Old Norse verse. However, this need not necessarily suggest the inheritance of a ‘prototypical short definitional stanza type’ as Clunies Ross argues.⁴⁷ After all, the diverse nature of the rune names invites separate treatment of each concept, the rune list exemplar perhaps not only influencing the form of the poem but inspiring the OE poet to go even further in his/her structural experimentation by varying the length of these stanzas to indicate traditional division of the *fuporc*.

Although the division of the *fupark* is not similarly encoded in the Scandinavian poems, there is an interesting parallel in the material that is attached to the earliest manuscript of the Icelandic *Rune Poem* — namely, demonstrations of the various ingenious cryptographic forms enabled by the *attir* division, with the position of the runes indicated by, for example, bristles on a pig’s back and the oars on a boat.⁴⁸ Clearly, this cryptographic material — also circulated in the so-called *ísrúnar* tract in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of a continental provenance⁴⁹ — was part of the traditional material that formed the background to the composition of the poems, hinting at a body of runic lore associated very closely with the rune lists even if circulating independently.

Whilst this background of traditional rune lore should undoubtedly be taken into account when examining the translation of the rune poem tradition in its individual contexts, other influences on the poems may be the result of contemporary textual and literary associations. One such association may have arisen from the striking alterity of the runic script on the manuscript page, and fostered an attention to the form of the rune as well as its name. Indeed, it has been noted by Liestøl that several of the B-verses of the Norwegian *Rune Poem* refer not to the meaning of the rune name but to the shape of the runic character itself. We might count among these the statement in relation to the *máðr* rune, Y, that ‘great is the claw of the hawk’ (st. 14), and the resemblance of the *hagall* rune, *, to the Christogram (a ligature of the Greek letters X and P) to

⁴⁶ Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta*, p. 52.

⁴⁷ Clunies Ross, ‘The Anglo-Saxon and Norse *Rune Poems*’, p. 28.

⁴⁸ See *The Icelandic Rune Poem*, ed. by Page, pp. 9–10 and pl. 1.

⁴⁹ For an extended study of these Latin tracts and their likely provenance, see Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta*, pp. 89–137.

explain the reference to Christ creating the heavens,⁵⁰ to which I would add the resemblance of the *úr* (slag) rune, **ᚱ**, to the shape of the print made when a reindeer 'løypr [...] á hjarne' (runs over the compacted snow) (st. 2). This may be a remnant of a mnemonic function of an earlier tradition — helping the reader to remember not only the sound value but the shape of the rune — though it is not developed or consistent enough to be of much use in this respect, and is more likely one of a series of teasing links between the ingeniously connected verse lines.⁵¹

We can also discern an occasional attention to the form of runes in the OE *Rune Poem*, occasionally overlapping with the Norwegian tradition, of which the *þorn* / *þurs* rune, **Þ**, is the best example. The connection of the *þurs*, or ogre, with *kvenna kvillu* (sickness of women) (st. 3) has never been adequately explained, but it seems to have been well established, appearing in both the Norwegian and Icelandic tradition, and given extended treatment in the Eddic poem *Skirnismál*, where *þurs* runes are carved as part of a runic imprecation attacking the female antagonist with a litany of deeply sexual threats. One of the implications carried by the *þurs* in this Eddic poem appears to be that of rape, and the shape of the three staves carved (**Þ Þ Þ**) may serve to reinforce visually the threat made against the giantess that she will be 'taken' by a three-headed ogre. A similarly violent register appears in the Old English *Rune Poem* — with its characterization of the thorn as being painful to grasp and with the strange reference to it being extremely fierce 'manna gehwylcun ðe him mid resteoð' (to any one who rests with them) (st. 3). It is not just the negative connotation that is mirrored in the OE poem but also the faintly sexual, or indeed penetrative, imagery — the thorn carrying many of the same associations as the giant in the Scandinavian tradition. It seems likely that both the resemblance of the rune to a thorn and a series of less tangible (and deeply unpleasant) associations may have had a bearing on the name that came to replace that of 'giant'.

We can see several further instances in the OE *Rune Poem* where the shape of the rune appears to affect the characterization. The second rune *ūr* (aurochs) certainly deals with a creature that belongs in a Germanic frame of reference — indeed, both Dickins and Halsall point out that the Anglo-Saxons were only likely to have seen the horns of these continental beasts.⁵² We might add that the shape of the *úr* rune, **ᚱ**, could also have affected the poet's rather insistent

⁵⁰ Liestøl, 'Det norske runediktet', p. 67.

⁵¹ See Birkett, *Reading the Runes*, chap. 3.

⁵² Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*, p. 12; *The Old English Rune Poem*, ed. by Halsall, p. 106.

focus on the horns in the description of this animal — it is portrayed as being both *oferhyrned* (horned above) and fighting *mid hornum* (with its horns) (st. 2). The designation of the *tīr*-rune (↑) — perhaps originally referring to the god Týr as attested in the Scandinavian poems — as *tācna sum* (a certain sign) (st. 17) rather than playing on the homonym *tīr* ('fame' or 'glory') is perhaps inspired in part by a similar attention to the shape of the rune — which in addition to resembling the symbol for the planet Mars (and perhaps reflecting a common identification of this classical deity with the Germanic god)⁵³ has a directional impulse, and like an arrow in flight 'ā biþ on færylde' (is always on course) and 'healdeð trýwa wel' (holds its faith well) (st. 17). Interestingly, Týr in both the Norwegian and Icelandic poems is described in the first lines as *æinedr ása / áss* (one-handed god) (st. 12) — an important characteristic of the deity that has a visual parallel in the fact that it is the single-branched (Norwegian/Swedish) form of the rune (1 rather than ↑) that appears in the manuscripts.⁵⁴ There is little, again, that can be deduced from these occasional references to the form of the rune in the OE and Norwegian rune poems — they are certainly not consistent across the three poetic traditions, and all but absent in the Icelandic version.⁵⁵ A focus on the form of the runes may well be a consequence not of an original function but of the fact that the poet is naturally drawn to the shape of these unusual characters in the process of composing verses anthropomorphizing the script.

The occasional reference to the form of the rune in the Norwegian tradition may be a result of a poet attempting to engage the reader with various indistinct or even juxtaposed associations between the rune, its name, and attendant cultural and mythological narratives, linked by Clunies Ross with the *hjálstelt* or 'abuttal' device described by Snorri Sturluson in his *Prose Edda*.⁵⁶ Thus, when riding is said to be *rossom væsta* (worst for horses) we can interpret the following statement that 'Reginn sló sværðet bæzta' (Regin hammered the best sword) (st. 5) to require an associative leap between the image of a sword forged for Sigurd Fáfnisbani and the treasure loaded on his famous horse following his

⁵³ Osborn, 'Tir as Mars in the *Old English Rune Poem*', p. 6.

⁵⁴ Liestøl, 'Det norske runediktet', p. 70.

⁵⁵ The only possibilities are the reference to Týr, already mentioned, and perhaps the influence of the shape of the *lōgr* rune, ʀ, on the choice of kennings for water with a vertical impulse, including *vellenda vatn* (welling water) and *viðr kettill* (large geysir) (st. 15). In keeping with the phenomenon of pareidolia that affects many imaginative interpretations of these poems, the more one looks, the more obscure the connections that propose themselves.

⁵⁶ Clunies Ross, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norse *Rune Poems*', pp. 31–35.

slaying of the dragon. The Icelandic tradition makes the contrast between the joy of the rider and the labouring of the horse the focus of its treatment of the same rune (and is fairly consistent across the manuscript witnesses). This brings it closer to the OE *Rune Poem*'s treatment of *rād*, which is described as being easy for warriors thinking about it in the hall, but very strenuous for the one who actually has to travel over *mīlpapas* (mile-roads).⁵⁷ This is a similarity that has been pointed up by many commentators, and interpreted in various ways, including as a reflex of a journey charm associated with the rune.⁵⁸ But the common presentation of this concept in terms of a contrast of perspectives is not explained adequately by a 'shared word-hoard of alliterative formulas'.⁵⁹ One possibility is that this was a gnomic piece of wisdom about horses shared throughout the medieval world, and Clunies Ross points out similar tensions present in the Old English poem *Maxims I* and the Eddic poem *Hávamál*.⁶⁰ Another possibility is that this is an association inherited from an archetype and adjusted to fit the individual purposes of the poet (though, as with the wealth stanza considered earlier, in a way seemingly unconstrained by detail). But perhaps when the overall scheme of the poems is considered, this overlap in presentation is not so very surprising.

It has often been pointed out that the *Rune Poems* have a certain affinity to the riddle form, and that the presentation of the rune names is often indirect, and sometimes posed as a direct challenge: how is a hawk's claw related to the *máðr* rune? What adorns ships and is the pleasure of man? What is known to all by its flame, but lives indoors? Some of the strategies in the OE poem overlap considerably with the riddle form, including the anthropomorphism that gives a reed an active power to wound, and the duality of images transformed for use by men — an oak into a ship, hail transformed to water, and so on. In a technique common to the riddle tradition, the description of the rune is often resolved by combining two less specific images, or by a final more conclusive statement that removes the ambiguity of the preceding lines. Other descrip-

⁵⁷ Several interpretation of this stanza suggests a play on the two meanings of the word, including equipment or furniture in the hall and the more common sense of riding (Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*, p. 14). Millar interprets this euphemistically, as a contrast between horse-riding and the more leisurely pursuit of 'riding' indoors; see 'Semantics, Structure, and Symmetry', pp. 432–33. Even if we do not accept the (rather limited) evidence for both these propositions, the riddlic contrast is clearly evident in the two spheres of action.

⁵⁸ Elliott, *Runes: An Introduction*, p. 57.

⁵⁹ *The Old English Rune Poem*, ed. by Halsall, p. 38.

⁶⁰ Clunies Ross, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norse *Rune Poems*', p. 36 n. 43.

tions are fairly self-evident, until we consider that the name of the rune is missing from the transcripts of the Norwegian *Rune Poem* and the oldest manuscript of the Icelandic *Rune Poem*, as well as the now-lost manuscript of the OE *Rune Poem* — an interesting parallel in itself, and one which certainly turns the most innocuous descriptions, such as that of the birch or yew tree, into a challenge to name the runic character correctly.

It is quite natural that the poet should turn to the riddle form in composing a poem about the rune names, and it need not suggest that this was an inherited feature of a Germanic *ur*-poem. Not only do the runes play an important role as clues within the riddles of the Exeter Book, and represent engaged forms of reading in many other manuscript contexts,⁶¹ there is also a precedent in the world of runic epigraphy for puzzling, and indeed cryptography, though the extent to which the cryptographic proclivities of monastics fed back into the runic tradition proper is hard to gauge. The deliberate interpretative challenges posed in certain inscriptions is the subject for a much longer study, but the extent to which runic erudition conventionally overlapped with riddling is given ample expression in inscriptions ranging from the Franks Casket to the famously intricate Rök stone and the showy cryptograms in Maeshowe, and is perhaps implicit in the common medieval directive to the audience of an inscription to *rǫð rétt rúnar* (read the runes correctly). It is hardly surprising that when composing an exposition of the runic characters the poets determined to promote a certain enigmatic quality and an involvement of the reader in the resolution of ambiguity. Undoubtedly, this has less to do with the supposed (but very doubtful) magical or cultic associations, and much more to do with poetic precedence and the primary meaning of OE *rūn* as ‘secret’ or ‘mystery’ — a secret, in this case, to be revealed.

There is no need to suggest that an original rune poem with riddlic qualities was inherited between traditions — rather, I would argue that the association of the script with riddling (and indeed revelation) was a developed one in both Anglo-Saxon England and medieval Scandinavia, and an important constituent of the ‘ordinary rune lore’ that forms the background to the three poems.⁶² Indeed, it is noteworthy that the riddlic quality of the descriptions is

⁶¹ On the ‘insufficiently considered’ links between the script and the riddle tradition, see Fell, ‘Runes and Riddles’, and more recently Symons, ‘Reading and Writing in the Runic Riddles of the Exeter Book’ and the discussion of the Exeter Book runes in Chapter 2 of Birkett, *Reading the Runes*.

⁶² On the developed connection between runes and the revelation of meaning in Old English poetry, see Birkett, ‘Runes and *revelatio*’.

most prominent in the last five of the runic characters of the OE *Rune Poem*, all letters added to the common Germanic *fupark* and thus not constrained (one would think) by the precedent of an *ur*-poem and open to the influence of prevailing literary models and popular associations. Thus, the 'oak' is described obliquely in terms of food for pigs and the wood of a ship; the 'ash' both as tree and spear, playing on the dual reference of the word; the description of the *ȝr* rune, conventionally identified as referring to a 'bow', leaves a great deal of doubt as to whether this is indeed the referent; and the word *īar* has still not been conclusively interpreted, and similarly relies on the paradox of being both a river-dwelling creature *and* *ðāh* (and yet) taking its food on land (st. 28). All represent ambiguities to be resolved, in a manner very similar to the Norwegian poem's treatment throughout, and yet as additional runes unique to the Anglo-Saxon context they clearly do not provide a source for any of the descriptions in the later Scandinavian poems, or represent an inherited Germanic tradition.

What does this tell us about the migration of the tradition? Well, to my mind it demonstrates how important traditional associations with the script may have been in determining the congruent character of the three poems. If we return to the image of riding, we might wonder whether it is better to read this overlap in presentation as a migration of this specific conceit between Anglo-Saxon England, Norway, and Iceland, or rather look to the riddling technique of placing contrasting images alongside one another in order to resolve ambiguity. The obvious resolved contrast in riding is the difference between the experience of two actors involved — whether it be couched in mythic terms between Sigurd's victory and Grani's burden, or between the horse and the rider, or between the thought of riding and the strain of a burdensome journey. The contrasting presentation is what gives rise to the tantalizing overlaps, and this construct should be sought in the most basic technique of the riddle form.

Conclusions

There are undoubtedly other connections to be drawn between the three traditions that do not assume either a Germanic source poem or textual migration between England, Norway, and Iceland, but are rooted in a body of partially reconstructable oral lore. If the poems were composed without reliance on a shared archetype (which I believe is a distinct possibility), the idea of a rune verse was surely circulating as part of the tradition attached to the runes, and the poets — though seemingly not constrained by the formal precedent of an inherited text — were still directed to a degree by shared associations that

fleshed out a body of 'ordinary rune lore' surrounding the rune rows and the traditional names. As I have suggested, these may have included a close association of the script with riddling and resolved ambiguity, an attention to the shape of the runes as distinct from the Latin alphabet, and perhaps a traditional separation of the rune names into negative and positive categories.

There is little beyond this that can (or indeed should) be stated conclusively about the migration of the rune poem tradition, or remnants of earlier belief surviving amongst this traditional lore, and in the absence of intermediary texts, there is no way of settling the question of transmission once and for all. Yet focusing attention on the difficulties is a productive problematization — shedding light not only on the many assumptions made about archetype and textual migration in the criticism of the individual poems, but also providing a different way of thinking about transmission in general. The rune poem conceit is relatively unique in having both a concrete textual exemplar in the circulating *fuparks* and lists of rune names, but also drawing on a body of oral rune lore which was probably 'regularly subject to change and innovation' as Barnes suggests, but which may also have remained cohesive enough to influence the composition in similar ways.⁶³ This interaction of rune list and popular oral tradition may together account for some of the similarities that seem indicative of an *ur*-poem or copying between textual traditions, and also the great formal and stylistic variation in the three surviving branches of the rune poem tradition that seems to suggest exactly the opposite. In other words, we are not dealing with composition in a vacuum but translation of a collective tradition, leading to significant congruence in the resulting poems.

The case of the rune poems may be unusual, but there are undoubtedly other instances where such an interaction of what we might call encyclopedic or list material and oral lore can account for similarities between textual traditions that cannot be explained adequately by the copying and alteration of specific texts. Even if we hesitate to apply this particular paradigm of 'migration and manipulation' elsewhere, the case of the rune poems should act as a caution against applying the stemmatic, linear model of transmission to all seemingly related texts, and highlight the possibility that similar texts arising from different literary milieus may represent nothing more than conditioned responses to the same poetic stimulus.

⁶³ Barnes, *Runes: A Handbook*, p. 160.

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SOMETHING GAINED IN THE TRANSLATION: LITURGICAL QUOTATION, PARAPHRASE, AND TRANSLATION IN THE FIFTEENTH- CENTURY ENGLISH CAROLS

Beth Ann Zamzow

The borrowing of pre-existing text, whether by means of quotation, paraphrase, or translation, is a dynamic method of transmission whereby new poetic models acquire multiple layers of meaning. The poetry and music of carols composed in fifteenth-century England are such a repertory.¹ Textual borrowings from the liturgy of the Church abound in the fabric of the carol poetry, and a multidimensional effect is created by such layering and accumulated meaning. The fact that the carols were intended to be sung suggests an additional facet, in that the human ear is able to process both words and music simultaneously while back-sourcing the textual references. The unaffected, direct style of the carol music is well able to support the various poetic forms, whether simple quatrains in Middle English, complex constructions in Latin, or delightful conjunctions of Latin and English combined. Liturgical and scriptural materials — borrowed, reconfigured, translated, and retransmitted — are the essential elements of the late Medieval English carols.

¹ For full description of the carol genre, see Stevens, 'Carol'; for transcriptions of carols with music, see *Medieval Carols*, ed. by Stevens; for Middle English and macaronic carol texts, see *Early English Carols*, ed. by Greene.

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This essay examines six carols that have resonances with the Epiphany liturgy,² and four of these have strong musical connections as well. Using these examples, I will suggest that, in the transfiguration of both words and music from the liturgy to the carols, nothing has been ‘lost’ in the translation, but rather a great deal has been gained in both beauty and understanding.

The fifteenth-century English carol is a poetic and musical form whose pre-dominant characteristic is the use of refrain and verse structure. Each carol has a separate ‘burden’ that is sung first, after each verse, and at the close. In many carols, the last line of the verse may be a recurrent phrase that functions as a cue for the burden; this line is termed the ‘refrain’. The music for the polyphonic carols is generally composed in two voice parts (the uppermost termed the ‘cantus’ and the lower termed the ‘tenor’). The recurring ‘burdens’ may be given two musically related settings: the first in two-part counterpoint, and the second often with a third *contratenor* voice added to the original two-voiced framework. While the verses were traditionally performed by a pair of soloists, the burdens called for a full two- or three-part chorus. Both the singers and the intended audience would have been drawn into the musical experience by the narrative character of the verses and by the group dynamic of the choral burdens.

Over five hundred carol texts have been preserved in a variety of manuscripts, and over a hundred survive with complete musical settings. Most of these appear in four English manuscripts.³ Carol texts are in Middle English, in Latin, or in a mixture of English and Latin; this combination of languages is termed ‘macaronic’. The carols treat in narrative style topics from the Advent and Nativity liturgical cycles, the Christmastide feasts, Epiphany, and the celebrations of the Purification, Annunciation, and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Many carols are suitable for public performance for a secular audience or in devotional settings, and indeed several carols in the Ritson collection appear with headings such as ‘in die nativitatis’ or simply ‘epiphanie’, suggesting usage

² Randel, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, pp. 470–71. Liturgy refers to the prescribed, formal ordering of the rites, ceremonies, and worship practices of the Christian church and includes all the texts and music for Mass and the Hours of the Divine Office. Epiphany falls on the twelfth day after Nativity (on 6 January) and is a fixed feature of the annual church calendar; see Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, pp. 49–51.

³ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.58, ‘Trinity Roll’, c. 1420, Norfolk; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden b. 26, c. 1430, Worcester; London, British Library, MS Egerton 3307, c. 1430–44, Windsor Chapel, London, or Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire, near Beverley; and British Library, MS Add. 5665, ‘Ritson’s’, c. 1460, Exeter. Manuscript descriptions are compiled in Zamzow, ‘The Influence of the Liturgy’, pp. 4–11.

at Christmastide feasts. No rubric has yet been found prescribing a specific carol for a particular use, yet neither have carols been expressly discounted, for example, as substitutes for the *Benedicamus Domino* sung at the close of each hour of the Divine Office.⁴ The verse-and-refrain structure of the carol would have been a particularly apt format to use as a substitute for the 'Bless the Lord: thanks be to God' closing sentence.

The fifteenth-century carol poetry is permeated with quotations, paraphrases, and translations from the Use of Salisbury.⁵ Moreover, where strong textual associations exist between a carol and a related liturgy, evidence of musical influence can be discerned. Especially notable in this respect are the carols related to the Epiphany liturgy.

The liturgy of the Church embraces the words, music, and actions of the official, corporate, and public acts of worship. The Mass and the Divine Office form differing but complementary parts of the daily circuit of prayer. In a system inherited from the ancient world, the liturgical day was divided into twelve equal hours of daylight and twelve of night. In the Rule of St Benedict, the office marking the fourth watch of the night is termed *vigilia nocturna*, or 'the night watches'.⁶ Each vigil is divided into three nocturns, with a fixed number of psalms and their proper antiphons (musical refrains coordinated with the prescribed psalms) — usually three — followed by read lessons (*sermones*) and responsories, again, usually in sets of three. The lessons in the first nocturn are scriptural, while those in the second may be patristic commentary; the third nocturn contains the Gospel for the day. The function of the Matins responsories is to offer a means of meditation upon the lessons. The form of a responsory

⁴ Four pieces of music in carol form are preserved in Aosta, Seminary Library, MS 9-E-19 (mid-fourteenth century), which are preceded by seventeen musical settings of texts appropriate as substitutes for the *Benedicamus*. Using this grouping to support his hypothesis, Harrison argues 'that the sacred English carol was [...] intended to fill the same function of *Benedicamus* substitute on certain festivals,' namely the Christmastide feast days of St Stephen Protomartyr, St John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, St Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Circumcision, and Epiphany; Harrison, 'Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol', p. 35. See also Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, pp. 75, 104–07, and 415; and Robertson, '*Benedicamus Domino*', pp. 1–4, 31, and 57–58.

⁵ Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, p. 14. 'The use of Salisbury indicates the liturgical observances followed in the Cathedral at Salisbury (and in fact in the majority of English churches in the later Middle Ages)'. Variant usages in fifteenth-century England include the Use of Hereford and the Use of York. For full discussion see Zamzow, 'The Influence of the Liturgy', pp. 33–42.

⁶ From the *Rule of St Benedict*, trans. by McKinnon, p. 159. In the later Middle Ages, the Office of *vigilia nocturna* becomes known as Matins.

is similar to that of the carol, with its refrain and verse structure. In performance, the full choir sings the Respond, and a pair of soloists follow with the Verse; the closing segment of the Respond (the *repetendum*) is sung again by the choir to round out the composition.

Responsory texts are either scriptural redactions or newly made compositions. The redaction techniques by which early church fathers wove scriptures into their sermons are similar to those used by others to create liturgical texts. These techniques of quotation and paraphrase were extended into hymn composition, notably begun by Ambrose and imitated throughout the Middle Ages. Segments of text would be reordered or combined to join multiple ideas. Syntactical and grammatical alterations conjoined texts into compatible lengths and emphases. These modifications, together with lexical substitutions, allowed the chant redactor or hymn composer to create balanced and complementary phrases and to build and retain classical poetic meters. The music of these liturgical items also reflects their literary structures. For example, a typical Ambrosian hymn comprises four lines of iambic dimeter (eight syllables per line).⁷ Hymns are often given a syllabic text setting (that is, from one up to three pitches per syllable). This direct delivery permits the long vowels and closed syllables to be somewhat drawn out and the short vowels and open syllables to be sung with a lighter quality. Thus the rhythm of the words themselves creates a naturally occurring musical ebb-and-flow.⁸

Like all medieval writing, the carol texts exhibit a respect for *auctoritas*, by which new arguments are carefully constructed on the bases of established texts. Unlike later standards of scholarship, the medieval author is less concerned with identifying the sources: if they are well established, they are likely to be known to the reader as well. The practice frequently results in a dense complex of new and received material, or indeed a pastiche of multiple sources.⁹ Further, received texts are likely as not to be recalled from memory, and this poses additional challenges for the modern scholar. The sources may

⁷ Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy*, pp. xv–xix.

⁸ See *Liber hymnarius*, pp. 36–37, to examine the chiefly syllabic text setting in the modern Roman version of the Epiphany hymn *Hostis Herodes impie* (comprising selected verses from Sedulius's great alphabetical hymn *A solis ortus cardine*).

⁹ Zamzow, 'The Influence of the Liturgy', pp. 302–66. Sources for quotations, paraphrases, and translations of liturgical texts may be poetic (Office hymns, Mass sequences) or non-poetic (antiphons, responsories); from multiple sources within one liturgical celebration (e.g., various Mass or Office items for Epiphany) or combined celebrations (e.g., Advent, Nativity, Easter, or a variety of Marian feasts).

indeed be impossible to disentangle. When a passage is quoted with no changes from its source text, incorporation with modification might be necessary to accommodate the rhythm and rhyme scheme of the carol or to create or preserve the diction.

Carols the texts of which are entirely in Latin are often seamless constructions of pre-existing and newly made materials.¹⁰ Perhaps a fourth or less of any Latin carol can be identified as a quotation. However, there is hardly a line in any Latin carol that cannot be associated with a liturgical source as either a paraphrase or an echo. Whether directly quoted or loosely paraphrased, the language in the Latin carols resonates with scriptural and liturgical vocabulary and constructions.

Conversely, macaronic (mixed language) carols comprise Latin lines interspersed within essentially English texts. Such insertions have the solemnizing effect of the voice of authority in the midst of popular commentary or description — a kind of troping in reverse.¹¹ In macaronic carols, a quotation is defined as the incorporation of a complete line from a liturgical source into the framework of the English poetry. If the Latin carols resemble mosaics with their multiple inlaid quotations, macaronic constructions appear more so with their admixture of language. When Latin lines appear in the burden or refrain, they become repetitive by virtue of their function. The attention focused on the refrain line in this manner serves as a continual reminder of the liturgy from which it is borrowed. In contrast, a quotation inserted one time only into a stanza becomes entwined with the narrative. One type of macaronic carol construction features an English stanza that concludes with a Latin refrain that is a direct liturgical quotation. Tail-rhyme is a favourite scheme for these types of stanzas. In another type of macaronic carol, the Latin lines form as much as half the poem and are in close alliance with the remaining English segments. Simultaneous evaluation of both languages is required, and a liturgical quotation or paraphrase is just as likely to be in English as it is in Latin, thus producing a translation.

¹⁰ Latin carols are also referred to as *cantilenae*. A decisive study of the macaronic carols and *cantilenae* in MS Egerton 3307 is found in Bukofzer, 'Holy-Week Music and Carols,' pp. 148–75.

¹¹ Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*, p. 35, writes about 'the time-honoured principle of troping, the insertion of material into the liturgy by way of commentary and interpretation'. See also Jacobsson and Treitler, *Pax et Sapientia*, p. 64, who describe the effects of the technique as 'overlapping and interweaving and criss-crossing the fibers' of the 'thread that runs through the trope'.

As a narrative thread often runs through the lessons and responsories for the Office of Matins, so a similar combination of narration and theology pervades several carols for Epiphany. Indeed, quotations, paraphrases, and translations from other items of the Office and Mass enrich the carol poetry, in some cases to the point of saturation. Close examination of the carol music reveals structural similarities and musical paraphrases from those chants where text has been borrowed and reconfigured.

The first carol to be examined is from London, British Library, MS Egerton 3307, fol. 69^r. *Alleluia pro virgine Maria: Diva natalicia*¹² is an example of layered references creating an intensified unity. A single-line burden is followed by three rhyming verses.

Burden	<i>Alleluia pro virgine Maria</i>	Praise God for the virgin Mary
Verse 1	<i>Diva natalicia nostra purgat crimina alleluia ne demur ad supplicia alleluia</i>	May the holy day of birth cleanse our sins <i>Alleluia</i> lest we have to receive the punishment <i>Alleluia</i>
Verse 2	<i>Nato sacrificia reges dant triplicia alleluia Herodis post convicia alleluia</i>	To the Newborn the kings gave threefold sacrifices <i>Alleluia</i> after the abuses of Herod <i>Alleluia</i>
Verse 3	<i>Mortis vincula trucia solvit die tertia alleluia resurgentis potencia alleluia</i>	The savage chains of death he loosens on the third day <i>Alleluia</i> with the power of his rising <i>alleluia</i>

While no direct liturgical quotations occur in this carol, each of the three stanzas is linked to a liturgical celebration — Nativity, Epiphany, and Easter — by means of paraphrase. Paraphrase is defined as the presence of one or more common words or phrases in a passage that has been altered by means of lexical substitutions and accretions as well as grammatical and syntactical adjustments, such that, while a new poetic context is created in the carol, reference to one or more sources is implied. For example, the first verse of this carol may be

¹² Carol *Alleluia: Diva natalicia* is no. 69 in *Medieval Carols*, ed. by Stevens. All translations from the Latin are mine.

interpreted as a paraphrase from the hymn *Salvator mundi*,¹³ sung at the Office of Compline (*ad completorium*, 'at the completion' of the monastic day, just after sunset) on the Feast of the Nativity: *et parce supplicantibus | tu dele nostra crimina* (and show mercy to those kneeling in entreaty; blot out our offences). The opening couplet of the carol's second verse is a paraphrase of the incipit of the sixth responsory sung at Matins on Epiphany, *Tria sunt munera preciosa*.¹⁴ These 'three precious gifts' offered to the Lord by the Magi are intensified in the carol by the rhyming words *sacrificia* and *triplicia*. Thus the 'threefold sacrifices' in the carol acquire a deeper theological meaning than the simple 'three precious gifts' used in the liturgy, perhaps in anticipation of the interpretation of the gift of myrrh as symbolic of the sacrifice of Christ's death.

Proceeding from the Nativity and Epiphany references, the carol writer expands the narrative with a strong reference to an Easter liturgical item. The third verse of the carol contains a paraphrase from the sequence for Easter, *Fulgens praeclara*.¹⁵ The sequence contains the line fragment *solve nexorum vincula* (loosen the bonds of violent death). While the mood of the verb in the carol is altered from the imperative to the indicative (*solve* becomes *solvit*), the verb stem and the object (*vincula*) are held in common; a genitive modifier (*mortis*) as well as an adverbial phrase (*die tertia*) are added to the carol text, yielding *Mortis vincula trucia | solvit die tertia* (on the third day, he loosens the savage chains of death). The layering of the paraphrases from the Christmas hymn, the Epiphany responsory, and the Easter sequence conjoin in the listener's mind all three liturgical celebrations and their essential meanings. The resulting carol poetry is a simple but elegant transmission of the summation of the Christian experience, whether the intended audience had been dwellers or guests at the monastery or cathedral.

A tantalizing confluence occurs in this carol that demonstrates the carol repertory's connections to the music of the liturgy. Following the exclamation of *alleluia* in the carol's burden, additional *alleluias* are interspersed throughout the verses. This format has a musical resonance with a series of short responso-

¹³ *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. by Proctor and Wordsworth, I, col. clxix. Hereafter Sarum Breviary.

¹⁴ Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxxiv.

¹⁵ *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclara ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. by Dickinson, p. 360. Hereafter Sarum Missal. For a concise description of the Mass sequence, see Randel, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, pp. 768–70: 'From the ninth century, sequences were sung in the Mass after the Alleluias and before the intoning of the Gospel on major feast days.' Many sequences comprise metrically equivalent pairs of rhyming lines.

ries sung at the Office of Terce (the ‘third hour’, or mid-morning) throughout the Christmastide celebrations: on Christmas Day itself, on several of the feast days following Christmas, and on Epiphany. Each short responsory has a pair of *alleluias* inserted after each line of text. The text for Epiphany reads *Omnes de Saba venient, alleluia, alleluia | Aurum et thus deferentes, alleluia, alleluia | et laudem Domino annunciantes, alleluia, alleluia*.¹⁶ The responsory melodies are formulaic recitation tones that are sufficiently flexible to accommodate a variable amount of text. A striking similarity is revealed between the short responsory and this carol in the positioning of the *alleluias* within the text and in the melodic contour of the *alleluias* in both pieces of music.¹⁷ The migration from the responsory to the carol of both the form of the composition and the contour of the melody is brought to the listener’s attention by the common liturgical occasion celebrated in the text.

A remarkable phenomenon can be found in a Latin carol from MS Egerton 3307, fol. 72^r, *Parit virgo filium: Sicut sponsus de thalamo*.¹⁸ This carol is little more than a skilfully arranged pastiche of quotations. Chiefly, it is a reworking of the *prosa Puer natus in Bethlehem* sung at Lauds (*ad laudes matutinae*, ‘at the praises of the morning,’ just before sunrise) on Epiphany according to the Use of Hereford.¹⁹

Carol Burden *Parit virgo filium | regali stirpe David*

Verse 1	<i>Sicut sponsus de thalamo processit matris utero regali stirpe David</i>
Verse 2	<i>Puer natus in Bethlehem unde gaudet Jerusalem regali stirpe David</i>
Verse 3	<i>Per Gabrielem nuncium virgo concepit filium regali stirpe David</i>
Verse 4	<i>Assumpsit formam servuli Verbum Patris altissimi regali stirpe David</i>
Verse 5	<i>Cognovit bos et asinus quod puer erat Dominus regali stirpe David</i>
Verse 6	<i>Reges de Saba venient aurum, thus, mirram deferent regali stirpe David</i>
Verse 7	<i>Uni trino altissimo benedicamus Domino regali stirpe David</i>

¹⁶ *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, ed. by Frere, pl. 90. Text also appears in *Sarum Breviary*, I, col. cccxx.

¹⁷ Zamzow, ‘The Influence of the Liturgy’, pp. 299 and 391–92.

¹⁸ Carol *Parit virgo filium: Sicut sponsus de thalamo* is no. 73 in *Medieval Carols*, ed. by Stevens.

¹⁹ *The Hereford Breviary*, ed. by Frere and Brown (hereafter *Hereford Breviary*), I, no. 26, p. 197. For a concise description of *prosa*, see Randel, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, p. 685. *Prosa* refers to the (originally) prose text added to a passage of music to be sung after the *Alleluia* at Mass; in this sense the ‘*prosa*’ is a species of ‘sequence’.

Prosa Verse 1	<i>Puer natus in Bethleem Unde gaudet hierusalem Assumpsit carnem filii Dei Pater altissimi Per gabrielem nuncium Virgo concepit filium</i>
Verse 2	<i>Tanquam sponsus de thalamo Progrediens ex utero Se ponit in praesepio Regnabit sine termino Cognovit bos et azinus Quod puer erat dominus</i>
Verse 3	<i>Reges de saba venient Aurum thus mirram offerent Intrantes domum invicem Salutant novum hominem Trino deo sempiterno Benedicamus domino</i>
Chorus respondet	<i>Deo gratias</i>

Selected couplets from this *prosa*, sometimes forming complete kernels, are reordered and internally modified for use in the carol. A non-rhyming refrain line is added, to form three-line stanzas. This refrain line — *regali stirpe David* — is itself a quotation from another Use of Hereford *prosa*,²⁰ and its terms have been shuffled to establish an iambic meter in the carol. The refrain dovetails with the overall sense of the utterance in each stanza.

Most of the lines of the *prosa*, and by extension the lines of the carol, can be readily traced to their scriptural origins.²¹ In addition, the closing couplet of the third verse is a doxological formula ('Let us bless the Lord, the everlasting triune God').²² The presence of the *Benedicamus Domino* line supports the thesis (by earlier carol scholars) that carols may have been performed as substitutes for the blessing that would have concluded an office hour such as Lauds or Vespers (*ad vespas*, 'at the evening', to accompany the lighting of the

²⁰ *Stirpe regali David*, from the *prosa Hodie prodit virga*, sung in the third nocturn of Matins for the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary; Hereford Breviary, II, no. 26, p. 66.

²¹ All Latin scriptural quotations are from the 1994 edition of the *Biblia Sacra*. *Ecce virgo concepit et pariet filium*, Isaiah 7. 14; *Quasi sponsus procedens de thalamo suo*, Psalm 18. 6; *Puer enim natus est*, Isaiah 9. 6 and Luke 2. 4; *Iubila filia Ierusalem*, Zechariah 9. 9; *formam servi accipiens*, Phillipians 2. 7; *Cognovit bos possessorum suum et asinus praesepe domini sui*, Isaiah 1. 3; *Reges de Saba [...] deferent*, Psalm 71. 10, Isaiah 60. 6, and Matthew 2. 11. In addition, in carol Verse 4, *Verbum Patris altissimi* is a quotation from the hymn *Iesu Salvator saeculi*, sung at Compline on the Sunday after Easter; Sarum Breviary, II, 234.

²² Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy*, pp. xiv–xv. The doxology is a formulaic statement of praise which names the three parts of the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), describes the eternal existence (in the beginning, now, and forever), and concludes with 'Amen'. The final, doxological stanza of a hymn is often one of general praise for the Trinity, flavoured with references to the liturgy to which the hymn is dedicated, and, most importantly, concludes with the 'Amen' (for which musical formulas also exist).

lamps and in preparation for the closing of the day — a particularly apt time to seek the Lord's blessing).

The music of the prosa *Puer natus in Bethleem* and the carol *Parit virgo: Sicut sponsus* also bear similarities of mode, melodic contour and phrase cadences.²³ Both pieces of music are in Mode One on D (related to the modern key of D minor). Musical correlations are suggested in the opening melodic gestures, in a number of common cadence points (where the musical phrases end on the same note in both carol and prosa), in several musical figures rising to an apex, and in various melodic figurations that descend to the final closing pitches. Thus, musical paraphrase can be observed and tracked: paraphrase both by reduction (resulting in fewer notes in the carol music than in the chant) and by amplification (where a segment of chant with a limited number of pitches is ornamented with additional notes in the carol). It is not difficult to speculate that this carol might have been employed as a *Benedicamus* substitute, for, indeed, the reordering and slight modifications of the prosa phrases incorporated into the carol, the melodic similarities between prosa and carol, and the presence of the *Benedicamus* line exemplify the fluidity of transmission between the liturgy and the carol.

While the carol *Parit virgo filium* is a paraphrase chiefly of a single, related liturgical item, another carol from the same collection, MS Egerton 3307, fol. 68^r, *Illuxit leticia: Fulsit stella previa*, is honeycombed with modified quotations from and references to a wide range of sources. This carol comprises a rhyming couplet in the burden and four mono-rhyming verses.²⁴

Burden	<i>Illuxit leticia dona per triplicia</i>	Gladness has shone forth through the threefold gifts.
Verse 1	<i>Fulsit stella previa magis ne in devia errassent et levia esse dat itinera</i>	The leading star shone for the magi, lest they stray into the wilderness, and this grants that their journeys are smooth.
Verse 2	<i>Intrantes regalia reges penetralia offerunt magnalia nato trina munera</i>	Entering the innermost royal chambers, the kings offered three wondrous gifts to the Newborn.

²³ Zamzow, 'The Influence of the Liturgy', pp. 293, 388.

²⁴ Carol *Illuxit leticia: Fulsit stella previa* is no. 68 in *Medieval Carols*, ed. by Stevens.

Verse 3	<i>Herodis atrocias verentes ad propria via pergunt alia jusa per angelica</i>	Fearing Herod's atrocities, they proceeded on another particular route, by angelic command.
Verse 4	<i>Christo modulamina demus ut peccamina purget et solamina det in sede celica</i>	Let us offer this song to Christ, that He, in his heavenly seat, might cleanse our sins and grant us consolation.

From the first line of the burden, the verb *illuxit* occurs in the eighth responsory of Matins for Epiphany, while the second line of the burden is a paraphrase from the sixth responsory.²⁵ Together they form a rhyming couplet, with the term *triplicia* employed to describe the threefold gifts. The construction of the poetry of this carol's stanzas is the opposite of those of *Parit virgo filium* with its concatenation of quotations from the Hereford prosa. The construction here is more akin to the sequences composed for Mass, in which the expansiveness of both line lengths and number of verses permits elaborate exegesis on the subject matter. As in those complex sequences, the sense of the utterance stretches over the entire carol stanza.

Three liturgical sources for Epiphany converge in Verse 1 as it describes the brightness of the star and the journeys of the Magi. These word stems — *fulgeo*-, *stella*-, *previa*-, and *itinera* — appear throughout the liturgical items, but never all four in the same source. For example, the fifth responsory furnishes *stellam magnam fulgentem*, while the Vespers hymn supplies *stellam sequentes previa*. The Epiphany sequence provides *stella micante previa | pergunt alacres itinera*.²⁶ The carol writer has reshaped several core elements of the Epiphany liturgy to suit the needs of the poetry: the first three lines in each verse engage a three-syllable rhyme, while the fourth line retains the assonance of the 'a' vowel.

The third stanza in this carol is an intricate web of ideas, which, by virtue of the common lexical items, is a paraphrase, with a twist, of the sequence for Epiphany. The word stems present in the carol verse and the sequence are *verens* (fearing), *ad propria* (to a particular), and *pergunt* (they proceeded).²⁷ The

²⁵ Full texts of Matins responsories for Epiphany are given in the Appendix (below).

²⁶ *Stellam sequentes praevia*, from the Vespers hymn, *Hostis Herodis impie*, Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxix; *Magi sibi stella micante praevia*, verse 8a from the Mass sequence, *Epiphaniam Domino*, Sarum Missal, p. 85. Compare to the scriptural account *Vidimus enim stellam in oriente*, Matthew 2. 2b; and *Et ecce stella quam viderant in oriente antecedeat eos*, Matthew 2. 9b.

²⁷ From the sequence *Epiphaniam Domino*, Sarum Missal, p. 85. Verse 7a: *In somnis hos*

warning of the angel is also present in both items.²⁸ Necessary for sustaining both the rhythm of the poetry and the three-syllable rhyme scheme, something of a twist in perspective occurs between sequence and carol. In the carol, the Magi are ‘fearing Herod’, but in the sequence, Herod is fearing the Newborn King; in the sequence, the Magi ‘came to the particular country’ having been led by the star, but in the carol they ‘went home another particular way.’

The admixture of English and Latin in the macaronic carols enables the carol writer to manipulate the grammar and syntax of each utterance so that the intermingling of languages produces a final product rich in assimilated meanings. This adept manipulation of language is demonstrated in the macaronic carol **Almyghty Jhesu Kyng of Blysse: Holy Chyrch**, preserved in MS Egerton 3307, fol. 65^v–66^r.²⁹ The burden and verses are quatrains with lines alternating English and Latin, and a compatible alternating rhyme scheme is maintained throughout.

Burden	Almyghty Jhesu Kyng of Blysse <i>assumpsit carnem virginis</i> he was ever and ever ys <i>consors paterni luminis</i>
Verse 1	Holy Chyrch of hym makyth mynd <i>intravit ventris thalamum</i> fro heven to erth to save mankynd <i>Pater mandavit Filium</i>
Verse 2	To Mari com a messenjer <i>ferens salutem hominum</i> and sche answerd with myld steven <i>ecce ancilla Domini</i>

monet angelus ne redeant ad regem commotum propter regna (The angel warned them in a dream that they should not return to the king, who was stirred up for the sake of his kingdom); Verse 7b: *Pavebat etenim nimium Regem Natum verens amittere regni iura* (For he was very frightened, fearing that the Newborn King would dismiss the authority of his rule); Verse 8a: *Magi sibi stella micante praevia | pergunt alacres itinera patriam | que eos ducebat ad propriam linguentes Herodis mandata* (The Magi — with the star, which had lead them to that particular country, twinkling out ahead for them — proceeded by order of Herod, eagerly continued on their journeys). Compare to the scriptural account, *per aliam viam reversi sunt*, Matthew 2. 12.

²⁸ *Jusa per angelica* (by angelic command), paraphrase of *Admoniti magi in somnis ab angelo*, the Gospel antiphon sung at Lauds and Vespers within the Octave of Epiphany, Sarum Breviary, 1, col. cccxxxiv. Accounts of the warning to the Magi (Matthew 2. 12, *et responso accepto in somnis*, ‘and being warned in a dream’) are conflated with the warning to Joseph (Matthew 2. 13, *ecce angelus domini apparuit in somnis Ioseph*, ‘an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream’).

²⁹ Carol **Almyghty Jhesu: Holy Chyrch** is no. 64 in *Medieval Carols*, ed. by Stevens and appears in *Early English Carols*, ed. by Greene, as no. 23.C, pp. 12–13. Greene’s entry indicates the text variants in London, British Library, MS Harley 275; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 88; and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.3.1.

- Verse 3 **Thorow the myght of the Holy Gost** | *palatium intrans uteri*
aboun al thyng meykness is best | *in conspectu Altissimi*
- Verse 4 **Thre kynges apon the twelfth day** | *stella micante previa*
to seyke our Lord thai toke the way | *baiulantes munera*
- Verse 5 **A ster befor the kynges ay** | *primus rex aurum optulit*
he ys God and Lord verray | *secundus thus protulit*
- Verse 6 **He was namyd the thyrd kyng** | *incensum pulcrum qui tradidit*
he us al to blysse bryng | *qui cruce mori voluit*

Variant stanzas that are found in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.3.1 complete the narrative of the Magi in closer alignment with both scriptural and liturgical sources.

- Variant Verse 4 **A sterne forth ladde theis kynges all** | *inquirentes Dominum*
lyying in an asse stall | *invenerunt puerum*
- Variant Verse 5 **For he was Kyng of kynges heghe** | *rex primus aurum optulit*
and allso Lorde and Kyng ful ryght | *secundus rex thus pertulit*
- Variant Verse 6 **For he was God, mon, and Kyng** | *mirra mortem retulit*
he hus all to heven bryng | *qui mortem cruce voluit*

The burden demonstrates the three techniques applied to borrowed materials (quotation, paraphrase, and translation) resulting in well-crafted sentences in the dual languages. Following the opening appellative **Almyghty Jhesu Kyng of Blysse** comes a paraphrased line *assumpsit carnem virginis*.³⁰ The third line of the carol, **he was ever and ever is**, is a translation from the *Gloria Patri* doxology text.³¹ Following this clearly declaimed, freestanding subject and verb — a theologically sound description of the eternal Trinity — comes a quotation of the incipit of the hymn sung at Matins on Tuesdays, *Consors paterni luminis* (Partaker of the fatherly light).³² Taken together, these four lines of the carol's burden exceed the sum of their parts and declare one of the central mysteries of the faith: Jesus acquires human flesh while embracing eternal godhood. The

³⁰ The source of this line is the second couplet of the opening verse of the Use of Hereford prosa examined above (*Puer natus in Bethleem*), which reads *assumpsit carnem filii* | *Dei Pater Altissimi* (The Father took on the flesh of the Son of the Most High God).

³¹ *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto: sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen* (Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit: as it was in the beginning, and is now, and will be always, world without end. Amen).

³² Sarum Breviary, II, 95.

carol writer's treasury of knowledge is manifested in these constructions, and the multiple contexts of the sources bespeak the depth of his erudition.

With the burden having established a firm theological footing, the carol verses turn to narration and escort the listener from the Annunciation through Epiphany.³³ The first three stanzas are chiefly liturgical and scriptural paraphrases.³⁴ An especially delightful sample falls in Verse 2, where the proper name of **Mari** and the generic appellation of **messenjer** in English stand side by side in a curiously inverted relationship. A phrase in the sequence for the Presentation of the Virgin uses the proper name for the angel Gabriel and names the recipient of his greeting as simply the virgin: the English **To Mari com a messenjer** is thus a complement of *Tunc Gabriel ad virginem*.³⁵

In the stanzas pertaining to Epiphany, another direct quotation from the Epiphany sequence, *stella micante praevia*, is embedded in Verse 4.³⁶ The term *micans* is difficult to miss, since it refers not just to a star having shone or glowed (as in the verbs *fulsit* or *illuxit*), but rather to *micans*, the peculiarly 'glittering' or 'twinkling' quality of the Star of Bethlehem. I propose that the anonymous composer of the Epiphany sequence (who first coined the phrase *stella micante praevia*) and the anonymous writer of the carol verses (who cleverly excised this phrase and embedded it in the carol verse) may have chosen this adjective because the term *micans* is simultaneously ordinary and extraor-

³³ The Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary is fixed on the liturgical calendar on 25 March; see Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, p. 52. For the scriptural account of the angel's announcement to Mary and her responses, see Luke 1. 26–56.

³⁴ In Verse 1: compare *intravit ventris thalamum* (He enters the bridal chamber of the womb) to Psalm 18. 6: *Sicut sponsus [procedens] de thalamo suo* (As the bridegroom goes out from his bridal chamber); **fro heven to erth to save mankynd** | *Pater mandavit Filium*, paraphrase of *Redemptionem misit Dominus populo suo: mandavit in aeternum testamentum suum*, an antiphon sung at second Vespers of the Nativity (Sarum Breviary, II, 95); scriptural source is John 3. 17: *misit Deus Filium suum in mundum [...] ut salvetur mundus per ipsum*. In Verse 2: **and sche answerd...** | *ecce ancilla Domini*, translation and quotation of scripture, Luke 1. 38a: *Dixit autem Maria, ecce ancilla Domini*. In Verse 3: *palatium intrans uteri* (entering the palace of the womb), paraphrase of *intra uteri claustra* (within the enclosure of the womb), from *Christi hodierna*, sequence for Mass on the sixth day after Nativity (Sarum Missal, p. 75); *in conspectu Altissimi*, paraphrase of *intrate in conspectu eius*, from Psalm 99. 2, *Iubilare Deo*, sung at the Offertory on the first Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany (Sarum Missal, p. 92).

³⁵ **To Mari com a messenjer** | *ferens salutem hominum*, paraphrase of *Tunc Gabriel ad virginem* | *ferens conceptus ordinem*, sequence sung for the Presentation of the Virgin (21 November); Sarum Breviary, II, 350.

³⁶ *Magi sibi stella micante praevia* (The Magi — with the star [...] twinkling out ahead for them), from *Epiphaniam Domino*, the sequence for Epiphany; Sarum Missal, p. 85.

dinary. The imagery associated with light coming into the world is at the core of the Epiphany liturgy. In the scriptural account, the Magi declare that ‘we have seen his star’ and ‘we have come’ (Matthew 2.2) — a simple act accomplished by people of power and wealth. Yet recreations of these events in the medieval liturgy — and by extension, in the late medieval carols — transform these ordinary deeds into something delightful, charming, and entirely human: when viewed by ordinary people, the twinkling and glittering stars become a symbol of hope.

In the closing stanzas of this carol, the three gifts brought by the Magi, and their significance, are finally laid before our feet. Simply named in the Gospel as gold, incense and myrrh, the liturgical items reveal the relationships to the Newborn: gold is for his Kingship and incense his Deity, while myrrh portends his human death and burial. Three items from the liturgy express these implications.³⁷ The sixth responsory for Matins introduces them as divine mysteries and expounds upon their worth: ‘that in gold might be shown the power of the King; in incense, consider the great priest; and in myrrh, the Lordly burial.’ The Mass sequence expresses this as prophesy: ‘The gifts fortell, in incense, God; in gold, a great King; in myrrh, human mortality.’ The Gospel antiphon for Second Vespers (sung in the evening on the day of Epiphany) states it as fact: ‘They offered him precious gifts: gold as for a great King, incense for a true God, myrrh for his burial.’ Referring to the carol stanzas preserved in the Scotland Advocates manuscript, the Latin lines in Variant Verse 5 state the action: *rex primum aurum optulit* (the first king offered gold); while *secundus rex thus pertulit* (the second king brought incense). Variant Verse 6 implies a third offering but graphically describes the gift: *mirra mortem retulit* (myrrh yielded death). The form, shape, and function of each of these genres of liturgical items affect the tone of the language. Responsories (sung around three in the morning at Matins) are meant for contemplation and readily support expansive prose texts. Sequences are sung at Mass and often feature pairs of lines so lengthy that each line is further subdivided into three line segments; this also encourages exposition of ideas. In contrast, antiphons are concise structures meant to surround

³⁷ *In auro ut ostendatur Regis potentia, in thure sacerdotem magnum considera, et in mirra Dominicam sepulturam*, from *Tria sunt munera*, Responsory 6, sung at Matins on Epiphany (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxxiv); *munera [...] thure Deum praedicant, auro Regem magnum, hominem mortalem myrrha*, from *Epiphaniam Domino*, verse 6b, sequence sung at Mass on Epiphany (Sarum Missal, p. 85); *aurum sicut Regi magno, thus sicut Deo vero, mirram sepulturae eius*, from *Ab oriente venerunt*, Gospel antiphon sung at Second Vespers on Epiphany (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxxxi).

numerous psalm verses as would book ends on a shelf. Similarly, carol verses are often (but not by rule) confined to octasyllabic four-line verses (not unlike Ambrosian hymns). The latter genres express ideas precisely and within metrical confines. In our own century, it has been observed that creativity flows more freely when restricted to narrow parameters.³⁸ The deliberately suitable language choices made by the carol writers suggest that adherence to such confines emboldened their inventiveness.

Two other points may elucidate the complex structure of this macaronic poetry and the fluidity of the processes of borrowing and reshaping. The first concerns the deployment of verb stems and their prefixes, and the second the use of appellatives. Throughout much of the Epiphany-related scripture and liturgy, a single verb stem appears, with various prefixes indicating direction and intensity: *-fer-* (to carry) and its past tense *-tul-* are transformed into subtle actions that fabricate a compelling narrative. In this way, *optul-* means ‘offered up’ or simply ‘offered’; *pertul-* suggests ‘carried through’ and might be translated as ‘brought’; *retul-* indicates ‘brought back’ and can be reshaped into ‘yielded’. The liturgical items also contain the stems *defer-* and *detul-*, which imply not only the bearing or carrying action but also the laying down of the gifts.

The second point addresses the accumulation of the appellatives for Christ in Variant Verses 5 and 6, expressed in crystal-clear English, and yet inextricable from the offering of the three gifts. The newborn Lord, **lyying in an asse stall**, is named **Kyng of kynges**; next he is called **Lorde and Kyng**; and finally the set of appellations is complete and he is named **God, mon, and Kyng**.

With the third gift bearing the mystical prediction of mortal death, the closing couplet of this carol expresses Christ’s willingness to die by the cross: **He hus all to heven bryng** | *qui mortem cruce voluit*. The use of *volo* in this context, together with the specific mention of death by the cross, resonates with these passages from *Pange lingua*, the famous hymn by Venantius, sung on ‘Good Friday’: *Se volente natus ad hoc [...] in cruce levatur*. These extracted phrases from stanza 6 of the hymn may be rendered as ‘the Newborn, willing himself for this: to be lifted up on the cross’.³⁹ The journey made by this interjected reference to the Good Friday liturgy is not a long one, since the aforementioned gifts of the Magi have a significance beyond the immediate liturgical needs, all

³⁸ Twentieth-century Russian composer Igor Stravinsky posits: ‘The creator’s function is to sift the elements he receives from [the imagination], for human activity must impose limits upon itself. The more art is controlled, limited, worked over, the more it is free’. In Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music*, p. 63.

³⁹ *Pange lingua [...] proelium*, verse 5, line 2, hymn by Venantius Fortunatus, sung at the

the way to the sacrifice on the cross. Indeed, Venantius's hymn line mentions *natus* — the Newborn — and in the mind of the carol writer, the connection is merely awaiting extraction and re-assignment in the new context, yielding migration with enhanced meaning.

To reveal the final chapter in the Epiphany narrative, and to draw together the threads of the liturgy and the erudition of the carol writers, let us turn to the full texts of the nine responsories of Matins for Epiphany (see Appendix below).⁴⁰ The cantor, or leader of the monastic choir, sings the first word of the Respond as a solo, to set the pitch and as a cue for the full choir to join in for the rest of the Respond. The verse is sung by a pair of soloists. Of particular importance is the *repetendum*, marked by a small cross, directing the full choir to sing the last segment of the Respond. The emphasis on the closing segment of text means the chant redactor is able to draw special attention to these important phrases. After the third responsory in each of the nocturns, the *Gloria Patri* (doxology) is to be sung. After the *Gloria Patri*, the choir is directed to sing the small segment of the *repetendum* (indicated with the asterisk), yet one more time. The chant redactor in this way creates a summation of the theological ideas presented in the previous three responsories.

The responsories of the first nocturn for Epiphany begin with images of light and the drawing nigh of the kings of the earth to the Newborn King of heaven. Responsories 1 and 2 imply the kingship of Christ by naming him Lord, but only in the *repetendum* of Responsory 3 is he named God. The second nocturn transforms the Old Testament kings of Sheba and Arabia into the Magi, seeking the Newborn Lord but running afoul of Herod. The *repetendum* for Responsory 4 asks persistently: 'Where is the Newborn, whose star we have seen; we have come to worship the Lord.' In the *repetendum* for Responsory 5, the pronoun *Nos* emphatically states that 'we have recognized, and we have come to worship, the Lord.' In Responsory 6 the imagery turns to the three precious gifts and their meanings, clearly reemphasized in the *repetendum*. Finally, small segment sung after the *Gloria Patri* focuses on the gift of myrrh and the Lordly burial (whose importance has already been demonstrated in several examples above).

While the responsories of the second nocturn address the gravity of the Lord's portended death, those of the third nocturn shift the focus and reconverge on a

ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday; Sarum Missal, p. 329. See also *Liber hymnarius*, pp. 61–65. For the full modern Roman rite, see *Graduale Triplex*, pp. 174–84, *Hebdomada sancta, feria vi in passione Domini* (Holy Week, Day 6 in the Passion of Our Lord).

⁴⁰ Texts in Sarum Breviary, I, cols cccxxi–xxvii. Music in *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, ed. by Frere, pls 85–88.

new scene: the Lord's baptism in the Jordan. The *repetendum* for Responsory 7 reiterates the words of the Father, as his voice thunders: 'This is my beloved Son.' Responsory 8 revisits the imagery of light by saying 'The holy day has shone forth for us.' The verse uses the passive voice construction to elaborately describe the Trinity: 'For the Father is heard in the voice; the Son is made manifest in humanity; the Holy Spirit is made known in the beauty of the dove.'

Responsory 9 is the *coup de grâce*. Immediately, the text of the Respond recalls the verse of Responsory 8, 'In the beauty of the dove, the Holy Spirit has been seen.' The Respond continues with a quotation from the gospel of Matthew, where the crowd is told, 'This is my beloved Son'; this contrasts with the accounts in Mark and Luke, where Jesus is addressed personally as, 'You are my beloved son.' While all the gospel accounts of the baptism use the terms *Filius meus in quo michi complacui*, none of the accounts uses the term *bene* to describe 'well-pleased'; this appears to have been an accretion to the liturgy. The craft of liturgical redaction introduces a simple adverb to magnify the emotional context of the event.

The last two words of the *repetendum* — *ipsum audite* — are also an accretion whose significance is monumental. This final command, 'Listen to him', does not appear in any of the scriptural accounts of the Lord's baptism; rather, it is a liturgical redaction of the Transfiguration, from Luke 9. 35. The insertion of the imperative *Ipsum audite* in the *repetendum*, and more importantly, its position as the closing section of the *repetendum*, after the *Gloria Patri*, causes it to be sung three times. Liturgically speaking, this command is not just the closing of Responsory 9, nor just a compelling termination of the full third nocturn, but an impelling commandment to go and do likewise. By adding this *mandatum*, the two scriptural instances of the manifestation of the voice of God are conjoined — in the liturgy and presumably in the mind of the worshippers and listeners alike.

Finally I turn to two carols that incorporate quotations, paraphrases, and translations not only from the Epiphany liturgies at large but specifically from the Matins responsories. London, British Library, MS Additional 5665, nicknamed 'Ritson's', dates from around 1460 and documents the closing decades of medieval carol composition. On folios 40^v–41^r is the macaronic carol *Jhesus autem hodie: When Jhesus Criste baptyzes was*.⁴¹ Each verse quatrain comprises three rhyming English lines followed by a Latin Refrain.

⁴¹ Carol *Jhesus autem hodie: When Jhesus Criste* is no. 108 in *Medieval Carols*, ed. by Stevens, and appears in *Early English Carols*, ed. by Greene, no. 131, pp. 79–80.

- Burden *Jhesus autem hodie | regressus est a Iordane*
- Verse 1 **When Jhesus Criste baptyzes was | the Holy Gost descended with grace**
the Fader voys was herde in the place | *hic est Filius meus ipsum audite*
- Verse 2 **There were thre persons and O Lorde | the Sone baptized with on acorde**
the Fader sayde this blessed worde | *hic est Filius meus ipsum audite*
- Verse 3 **Considerere now all Cristiante | how the Fader sayde bycause of the**
the grete mistery of the Trinite | *hic est Filius meus ipsum audite*
- Verse 4 **Now Jhesu as thou art bothe God and man**
and were baptized in flom Jordayn
atte oure last ende we pray the say than | *hic est Filius meus ipsum audite*

The burden is a rhyming couplet, quoted directly from the Epiphany Gospel.⁴² The descriptive *hodie*, which creates the rhyme and essentially trochaic rhythm, is an echo of Responsory 7, *Hodie in Iordane*. In Verse 1, the verb **baptyzes was** is a translation from Responsory 7 of *baptizato*. The reference to **Holy Gost** remains in the nominative case, as in Responsories 7, 8, and 9. However, the verbs carrying the action of the *Spiritus sanctus* in the responsory texts portray various shades of meaning: the Spirit remains (*mansit*); is recognized (*dinoscitur*); is seen (*visus est*), while the carol's use of **descended** does not specify but rather implies the presence of the *columba*. The bold statement in Verse 1 — **the Fader voys was herde in the place** — is a translation of the passive perfective *vox Patris audita est* from the verse of Responsory 7. Later, however, in carol Verses 2 and 3, the use of **the Fader sayde** in a strong, active voice, compares favourably to the verb *intonuit* (that is, 'intoned', 'resonated' — even 'thundered') as used in Responsories 7 and 8.

The syllable count in this carol is somewhat irregular, with four or five stresses per line and numerous extra syllables that would necessarily cause adjustment to the text underlay in a musical performance. The origin of the irregular syllables might be the five stresses in the Refrain line, which is a direct quotation, insofar as we can acknowledge the *Hic est Filius meus* to be the core of this utterance. The imperative *ipsum audite* is quoted from Responsory nine's *repetendum*, and this mindful repetition bears striking resemblance to its position as the carol's Refrain line.

⁴² *Iesus autem plenus Spiritu sancto regressus est a Iordane*, Luke 4. 1, Gospel read during the third nocturn at Matins on Epiphany (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxix); see also *Hodie caelesti sponso iuncta est ecclesia, quoniam in Iordane lavit Christus eius crimina*, Gospel antiphon sung at Lauds on Epiphany (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxxx).

In Verse 4, the English phrase **baptized in flom Jordan** is a translation of a Kyrie trope *Fons bonitatis* to be sung on Epiphany.⁴³ The phrase from the Kyrie trope is *baptizato in Iordanis unda* — ‘baptized in the waters of the Jordan’. The English term **flom** itself bears a sonic resemblance to the Latin term *flumen* — flowing waters, or river — which appears in another Lauds antiphon, *Maria et flumina, benedicite Domino* — ‘O seas and rivers, bless the Lord’.⁴⁴ The use of multiple, contrasting sources for borrowed materials again demonstrates the variety and richness of the liturgy itself and the dynamic flow of material from one genre to another.

Attention to two dramatic moments in the musical setting of this poetry will make this extraordinary carol come alive in performance. The first — an uncommon gesture in the carol repertory — is the setting of *Hic est Filius*, where two voices reiterate a consonant interval for the entire length of the phrase, as if it were being intoned in psalm-delivery fashion. The lengthening of the same sonority makes this line of text distinctive and pronounced, perhaps in gentle mimicry (for dramatic effect) of the voice of God intoning those words. In a final dramatic gesture, the *ipsum audite* command is given a melismatic setting (that is, multiple pitches set to a single syllable of text), where the prolongation of the *-di-* syllable in *audite* makes the imperative verb even more compelling in musical performance.⁴⁵

The final piece to be examined is, once again, from Egerton 3307, fol. 58^v–59^r, the macaronic carol *Illuminare Ierusalem: Hys signe ys a ster bryth*.⁴⁶ The poetry is laden with references to a variety of source genres from an array of liturgical celebrations.

⁴³ **baptized in flom Jordayn**, translation of *baptizato in Iordanis unda Christo*, verse 8 of Kyrie *Fons bonitatis*, appointed for Epiphany (rubric in Sarum Missal, p. 83); text in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. by Lütolf, XLVII, 53. The Kyrie is one of the five items of the Ordinary of the Mass whose texts are sung at each celebration of the Mass; the others are *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, *Credo in unum Deum*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*. The text setting for *Kyrie eleison* | *Christe eleison* | *Kyrie eleison* is traditionally melismatic. Troped Kyries, with words added to the melismatic sections, began to appear as early as the ninth century. See Randel, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, pp. 914–15, and Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, pp. 116 and 161.

⁴⁴ *Maria et flumina benedicite Domino*, antiphon 4 sung at Lauds on Epiphany; Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxxix.

⁴⁵ Zamzow, ‘The Influence of the Liturgy’, pp. 47–48.

⁴⁶ Carol *Illuminare Ierusalem: Hys signe ys a ster bryth* is no. 54 in *Medieval Carols*, ed. by Stevens, and appears in *Early English Carols*, ed. by Greene, no. 125.2, p. 76.

Burden	<i>Illuminare Ierusalem</i> the duke aperyth in Bedlem
Verse 1	Hys signe ys a ster bryth that shyneth over hymn wyth light yt ys nought come butt of hys myth <i>illuminare Ierusalem</i>
Verse 2	Thys day iii kynges made oblacion hy gyth to watyr sanctificacion his baptym our renovacion <i>illuminare Ierusalem</i>
Verse 3	The Holy Gost over hym alyght the Faders vois was herd on hyght this ys my Son me plese hymn ryght <i>illuminare Ierusalem</i>

The incipit of Matins Responsory one is used in the burden and as the refrain of this carol. The responsory itself is a redaction of the opening of Isaiah 60, *Surge et illuminare, quia venit lumen tuum*.⁴⁷ The second line of the burden couplet is a translation and paraphrase of the closing doxological stanza for the Epiphany hymn *Hostis Herodis impie*.⁴⁸ The Latin hymn line *Domine, qui apparuisti* — ‘O Lord, you appeared’ — becomes in the carol **the duke aperyth**. The appellation Duke may originate in the set of Vespers antiphons for the seven nights preceding Christmas Eve.⁴⁹ The antiphon for 18 December reads: *O Adonai et Dux domus Israel* — ‘O Lord and Leader of the house of Israel’.

The opening couplet of Verse 1 is a translation from Responsory 5, where even the word order is retained. The carol stanza begins **Hys signe ys a ster bryth**. In the responsory, Herod interrogates the magi and asks, ‘What sign do you see?’ The magi respond: *Stellam fulgentem* — ‘a star bright’. But they continue, *cuius*

⁴⁷ *Illuminare, illuminare Ierusalem*, Responsory 1 sung at Matins on Epiphany (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxxi); compare to *Surge et illuminare Ierusalem*, verse for the Mass Gradual *Omnes de Saba*, sung on Epiphany (Sarum Missal p. 84); scriptural source Isaiah 60. 1, *Surge et illuminare quia venit lumen tuum, et gloria Domini super te orta est*. **Ierusalem** is a liturgical accretion.

⁴⁸ **the duke aperyth**, translation and paraphrase of *Domine qui apparuisti*, in the doxological stanza for *Hostis Herodes impie*, hymn sung at Vespers on the Vigil of Epiphany, text by Sedulius (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxix); compare to *apparuiisti Christe*, from the antiphon *Lux de luce*, sung at Compline on the Vigil of Epiphany (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxxx).

⁴⁹ *O Adonai et Dux domus Israel*, antiphon sung with the Magnificat at Vespers on 18 December (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cliv). These antiphons, sung at Vespers on 17 through 23 December, are collectively referred to as the ‘O’ antiphons; Sarum Breviary, I, cols cliv–vi. Each antiphon begins with the vocative ‘O’ and an appellation for the Messiah: *O Sapientia*; *O Adonai*; *O Radix Jesse*; *O Clavis David*; *O Oriens splendor*; *O Rex gentium*; and finally *O Emmanuel*. The initial letter of each appellation, taken in reverse order (that is, ERO CRAS) forms an acrostic rendered roughly as ‘Tomorrow I will be there’ as preparation for 24 December. Music for the ‘O’ antiphons is found in *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, ed by Frere, pls 41–42. For the modern Roman version, see *The Liber Usualis*, pp. 340–42.

splendor illuminat mundum; this compares favourably as a subordinate clause to the next line in the carol stanza, **that shyneth over hym wyth light**.⁵⁰

In Verse 2, the terms **sanctificacion** and **renovacion** originate in a sermon by The Venerable Bede, read at Matins on 1 January.⁵¹ Bede uses the phrase *lavacra consecravit*, that is, ‘the waters of baptism are consecrated’ — made holy, sanctified — and in the carol stanza we see **he gyth to watyr sanctificacion**. Another clause from the sermon is this: *suo baptisate nobis remedia procuravit*, or, ‘through his baptism he has procured healing for us’. To procure healing is to make new, hence in the carol we see **his baptym our renovacion**.

The third verse is a translation and paraphrase of Responsories 7, 8 and 9.⁵² Notable here is the statement **this ys my Son, me plese hymn ryght**. The use of the adverb **ryght** is comparable to the Latin adverb *bene*, which is absent from the scriptural accounts but which holds a prominent place in Responsory 9: *Hic est Filius meus [...] in quo michi bene complacui*.

The structure of this carol — its burden, stanzas, and Latin refrain — mirrors the journey taken by the participants in the office of Matins on Epiphany. The shining forth of light echoes Responsory 1; the Magi following the star and offering their gifts has resonance with Responsory 5; the relevance of the Lord’s baptism and the actual scene played out before our eyes is thoroughly depicted in Responsories 7, 8, and 9. These close relationships beg a comparison of the music of the most intimately quoted responsory with the music of the carol.

⁵⁰ *Interrogabat magos Herodes... splendor illuminat mundum*, Responsory 5 sung at Matins on Epiphany (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxiv); compare *Magi videntes stellam dixerunt advicem hoc signum magni Regis est*, antiphon sung with the Magnificat at Vespers on the Vigil of Epiphany (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccxx).

⁵¹ **hy gyth to watyr sanctificacion | his baptym our renovacion**, translation and paraphrase from a sermon by The Venerable Bede, Matins, read on the Feast of the Circumcision, 1 January (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cclxxvi): *Redemptor autem noster, qui — ut peccatum mundi tolleret — sine peccato venit in mundum, sicut suo baptisate nobis remedia procuravit; id est, nostris abluendis scleribus aquarum quae subiit lavacra consecravit*. (As our Redeemer, who, so that he might bear the sin of the world, came into the world without sin, even so he has procured healing for us through his baptism; that is, for the sake of our sins, he consecrated the waters of baptism through the cleansing power of the waters that he entered). Compare to a verse from the hymn *Hostis Herodes* (Sarum Breviary, I, col. cccix), *Lavachra puri gurgitis | caelestis Agnus attigit | peccata quae non detulit | nos abluendo sustulit* (The Lamb of heaven arrives at the baptismal waters of the pure river; he who did not come with sin has suffered for the sake of cleansing us).

⁵² Responsories 7, 8, and 9, Sarum Breviary, I, cols cccxvi–vii; scriptural sources are Matthew 3. 13–17, Mark 1. 9–11, Luke 3. 21–22, and John 1. 29–34.

The first setting of the Burden text is in two voice parts, sung by the full choir, and is characterized by melismatic passages, where one syllable of text is given a multiple-note setting. The verse is also set in two voice parts but is sung by a pair of soloists, not unlike the presentation of the verse of a responsory. Syllabic text setting (that is, one or two pitches per syllable of text) characterizes the carol's verse, where precise declamation is called for. The music for the Refrain is identical to the first Burden, illustrating the efficient use of musical materials and the unifying function of the refrain. A three-voiced setting of the Burden by the full choral assembly rounds out the performance.

The first responsory for matins on Epiphany (*Illuminare, illuminare Ierusalem*) is paraphrased by reduction in this carol. Both the carol and the chant are in Mode Five (that is, the closing sonorities are both F, and the notes ranges within the F to F octave). The chant reaches its full modal octave (high F) on the words *lux* and *gloria*. The expansive character of the responsory utilizes the two-fold repetition of *illuminare* at the beginning to launch the melody toward its apex. In the carol, selected pitches from the opening gesture recreate this motion. With both chant and carol oriented to the F mode, and given the strong resemblance of the opening figures, an intentional paraphrase is at least strongly suggested.

Several significant discoveries have emerged from my study of the influence of the liturgy on carol composition, pertaining chiefly to the ordering of Matins and the structure and content of the responsories. We have followed the narrative and contemplative thread that runs through these responsories. Observing the structural commonality between the carol and the responsory, we are provided with affirmation of the intuition that behind the form of the carol (with its burden, verse, and refrain) lies the form of the responsory (with its respond, verse, and *repetendum*). In addition, claiming that erudite clerics were the creators of the carols bolsters the argument that the carols, by virtue of their content, form and ordering, are an extension of the Divine Office.

The simple beauty of the music of the fifteenth-century carols belies the complexity and richness of many of the texts. Indeed, the way into the music, especially when seeking liturgical reflections, is achieved by a close examination of the texts. The poetry, then, resonant and vibrant with scriptural and liturgical allusions, makes of these devotional carols magnificent compositions that must not be underrated. The frequency of direct quotation and the dynamic application of paraphrase and translation techniques suggest a new model for transmission, where borrowing and reconfiguring pre-existing materials from other contexts enables new compositions to acquire multiple layers of meaning.

APPENDIX

The texts for the nine Responsories for Matins on Epiphany are found in the Sarum Breviary, I, cols cccxxi–vii. Music for the Responsories is found in *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, ed. by Frere, pls 85–88.

The following abbreviations are employed (in both breviaries and antiphoners) to indicate the formal structure of the Responsory as well as common performance practice:

- R. Respond
- V. Verse
- + *repetendum*
- * closing segment of *repetendum* after Gloria Patri

In the first nocturn:

Responsory 1

R. *Illuminare, illuminare Ierusalem, quia venit lux tua. + Et gloria Domini super te orta est.* V. *Et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo: et reges in splendore ortus tui. + Et gloria.*

Responsory 2

R. *Omnes de Saba venient: aurum et thus deferentes, et laudem Domino annunciantes, + Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia.* V. *Reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent: reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent. + Alleluia.*

Responsory 3

R. *Reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent: + Reges Arabum et Saba dona * Domino Deo adducent.* V. *Et adorabunt eum omnes reges, omnes gentes servient ei. + Reges Arabum. Gloria Patri. * Domino.*

In the second nocturn:

Responsory 4

R. *Magi veniunt ab oriente Hierosolimam quaerentes et dicentes, + Ubi est qui natus est cuius stellam vidimus et venimus adorare Dominum.* V. *Cum natus esset Iesus in Bethleem Iudae in diebus Herodis regis: ecce magi ab oriente venerunt Hierosolimam dicentes, + Ubi.*

Responsory 5

R. *Interrogabat magos Herodes, Quod signum vidistis super natum regem? Stellam fulgentem, cuius splendor illuminat mundum. + Et nos cognovimus et venimus adorare Dominum. V. Vidimus stellam eius in oriente. + Et nos.*

Responsory 6

R. *Tria sunt munera preciosa, quae obtulerunt magi Domino in die ista et habent in se divina mysteria. + In auro ut ostendatur regis potencia: in thure sacerdotem magnum considera. * Et in mirra Dominicam sepulturam. V. Salutis nostrae auctorem magi venerati sunt in cunabulis: et de thesauris suis mysticas ei munerum species obtulerunt. + In auro. Gloria Patri. * Et in mirra.*

In the third nocturn:

Responsory 7

R. *Hodie in Iordane baptizato Domino aperto sunt caeli: et sicut columba super eum Spiritus mansit, et vox Patris intonuit, + Hic est Filius meus dilectus in quo michi complacui. V. Caeli aperti sunt super eum: et vox Patris audita est, + Hic est Filius.*

Responsory 8

R. *Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis, venite gentes et adorete Dominum: quia hodie apparuit. + Lux magna in terris. V. Pater enim auditur in voce: Filius manifestatur in homine: Spiritus sanctus dinositur in columbae specie. + Lux magna in terris.*

Responsory 9

R. *In columbae specie Spiritus sanctus visus est: + Paterna vox audita est, Hic est Filius meus dilectus in quo michi bene complacui. * Ipsum audite. V. Vox Domini super aquas, Deus majestatis intonuit, Dominus super aquas multas. + Paterna. Gloria Patri. * Ipsum audite.*

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AN INTER-RELIGIOUS EXAMPLE OF TRANSLATION, TRANSMISSION, AND DISSEMINATION: THE *ALCHORAN LATINUS* OF 1143

Anthony Lappin

The *Alchoran latinus*, translated by Robert of Ketton and Hermann of Carinthia in northern Spain, is almost certainly the first translation of the Qur'an to have been made outside an Islamic setting. It was but part — admittedly the most important part — of an attempt to understand Islam through its sacred text, its popularized theology, and the character of its prophet, which had been sponsored by the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, during his trip to Spain in 1142–43.¹ The translators themselves had been working on quite a different project before Peter's summons: the translation of astronomical works in Arabic with the aim of, eventually, translating the Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest*.²

The preface to the *Alchoran latinus* is signed by Robert alone, thereby identifying himself as the senior partner of the translatorial duo, but the preface itself is hardly an exercise in apportioning credit to himself, as he feared association with an explosive and potentially career-destroying task. He should not be

¹ Bishko, 'Peter the Venerable's Journey to Spain'.

² See Burnett, 'Ketton, Robert of (fl. 1141–1157)'.

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accused, as he himself expressed it, of intending to ‘*floribus uenenum tergere*’ (cleanse poison with the flowers [of rhetoric]).³ He further insisted that he, lacking interest in the project, had only carried it out on Peter’s request. The responsibility, therefore, lay with Peter — who would, of course, weather any criticism much better; yet Robert’s own interest in alchemical writings may have already predisposed him to a project which involved the unlocking of hidden meanings in a text.⁴

Such a setting of scene is important for two reasons: first, the translators were learned in Arabic, but in an Arabic which represented the amalgam of Greek and Syriac scientific learning; second, they were by no means experts in the field of inter-religious dialogue, in mediation between religious traditions, or in the world of the Qur’ān. I will thus consider, first, the process of translation, how the rendering of recurring words or themes evolved over the translation, as various problems made themselves apparent to the translators as they worked. We will thus see not seamless equivalences throughout the text, but temporary solutions and revisions, together with some clear, and consistent, preferences. I will then consider two key moments in the transmission of the text: the first moment of distribution from Cluny, where a frame of glosses was provided, and where I will focus upon those that were composed in Cluny itself; and finally, the process of annotation in Renaissance philosophical circles in mid-fifteenth-century Italy, where a very different attitude to the *Alchoran* is to be found.

Methods of Translation

Christians Translating for Christians

One strategy used for translation is the use of equivalent concepts in one language and the other. A small point will illustrate this. We may consider the final verse of the first sura (Qur’ān 1:7), where the favour of the Most High is directed not towards *الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ* (those who earn thy anger nor those who go astray [Pickthall]).⁵ Robert and Hermann opt for the laconic

³ Citations of the *Alchoran latinus* are taken from *Alchoran latinus*, ed. by Lappin, 1: Paris: Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 1162; *Praefatio translatoris*, ll. 45–46, p. 436. Subsequent references are to *Azoara* (i.e., *sura*) and line number.

⁴ On alchemical texts, see Reichert, ‘Hermann of Dalmatia and Robert of Ketton’.

⁵ English translations of the Qur’ān are taken from *The Quran: Online Translation and Commentary* <<http://al-quran.info>> [accessed 20 March 2018]. The dates of the translations

‘hostes et erroneos’⁶ which Burman, for example, translates as ‘the enemies’ (quite correctly) and ‘those in error’ (less happily).⁷ In fact, the rendition of the last word (الصَّالِينَ · *al-dālīna*) as *erroneos* is faithful to the basic concept — the Arabic noun is derived from a root whose basic meaning is to wander off, deviate from a path or way⁸ — and the Latin term did not mean so much ‘in error’ as, primarily, ‘wandering, loose’, a use we find in contemporary authors such as Bernard of Clairvaux, or set phrases such as ‘oves erroneas’ (scattered sheep).⁹

If one may see equivalence in vocabulary, one might also expect medieval Christians coming to look at Islam’s most holy text to translate some of its concepts into something more familiar, more Christian, which is exactly what we find when considering Qur’ān 2:130–31, which, in Yusuf Ali’s translation, reads as follows:

And who turns away from the religion of Abraham but such as debase their souls with folly? Him [i.e., Abraham] We chose and rendered pure in this world: and he will be in the Hereafter in the ranks of the righteous. Behold! his Lord said to him: ‘Bow (thy will to me)’; He said: ‘I bow (my will) to the Lord and Cherisher of the universe.’

These two verses are rendered in the *Alchoran latinus* as:

Quisquis igitur legem Abrahe neglexerit, dereliqueritue brutus erit, qui a deo rogatus ut crederet confessus est se in deum totius mundi regem credere. Vnde hic a deo dilectus inter bonos summa corona condecoratur.¹⁰

are as follows: Ahmed Ali (1984); M. M. Pickthall, 1930; Saheeh International (2010); Yusuf Ali, 1934; A. J. Arberry, 1955; M. Daryabadi, 1957; M. H. Shakir, 1970; S. A. A. Maududi (1991); M. Asad, 1980; A. Raza Khan, 1990; Hilali-Khan, 1999; M. M. Ghali, 2001; Qaribulla-Darwish, 2001; W. Khan, 2009. Consultation of the Qur’ān via *The Quranic Arabic Corpus* <<http://corpus.quran.com>> [accessed 20 March 2018].

⁶ *Azoara*, 0.5, p. 440.

⁷ Burman, *Reading the Qur’ān*, p. 70.

⁸ See, for example, Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 1797–98.

⁹ Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *erroneus*; Bernardus Claravallensis, *Sermones*, I.2, ‘Solitarius est, sed erroneus. Errat in solitudine sua’ (He is a solitary, yet a wanderer. He errs within his solitude) (col. 537C). *Oves*, contemporaries: Ivo Carnotensis, *Epistolae*, IV, at col. 14B, and Franco, abbas Affligemensis, *De gratia dei*, XII, col. 797A; late antique: Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Epistolae*, LXXII.3, ed. by Hilberg, p. 110, and cf. *Adversus Iovianum*, II.33, col. 330D; *Vita S. Aldrici*, § 13, col. 804A; and late twelfth-century: Petrus Comestor, *Sermones*, XLII, col. 1826A; Radulfus Ardens, *Homiliae*, LVII, col. 1877B.

¹⁰ *Azoara* I.212–15, p. 16.

(He shall be foolish, therefore, who might slight or abandon the law of Abraham, who when asked by God that he should believe, declared he believed in God, ruler of the whole world. Thus, beloved by God, he is rewarded by the highest crown amongst the good.)

What is of particular interest here is Qur'an 2:130.14–18, *وَإِنَّهُ فِي الْآخِرَةِ لَمِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ* (he will be in the Hereafter in the ranks of the righteous [Ali]). The word translated as 'Hereafter' (*الآخرة* · *al-ākirati*) stands for what is remaining, postponed, placed at the end, and therefore the 'last things', the *novissima*;¹¹ and 'the righteous' (*الصالحين* · *al-ṣāliḥīna*): those who have become good, right, just, virtuous, and honest.¹² These are key terms within the Qur'an, with its resolutely apocalyptic ethos.¹³ Here, the underlying meaning of the Qur'anic terms are quite ably translated through a Christian inflexion, with the invocation of the 'summa corona', the crown of immortality, given to the martyrs. Indeed, the translation probably relies on the resonance of a *tafsīr* (or commentary) on this verse of the Qur'an, which establishes a cross-reference with Qur'an 20:75, 'But such as come to Him as Believers who have worked righteous deeds, for them are ranks exalted' (Ali).¹⁴

There is, then, an attempt to bridge these intertextual references, to give the idea of height and superiority through the use of *summa*; whilst *corona*, the reward of the martyrs, ineluctably refers to the blest or the righteous. Despite the occasional appearance of a coronal recompense in *tafsīr* and *ahadith*,¹⁵ the use made of *summa corona* is undoubtedly a predominantly Christian reference, deployed for its positive connotations to a medieval European ear.

¹¹ cf. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 31–32.

¹² Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 1714–15.

¹³ On this, see most recently Shoemaker, *The Death of a Prophet*.

¹⁴ For example, the *Tafsīr al-Jalalayn*, trans. by Hamza, p. 23. For the overwhelming evidence of the reliance of our translators on the *tafsīr*, see Burman, 'Tafsīr and Translation'.

¹⁵ For example, as a part of the heavenly reward for knowledge of the Qur'an: 'The Qur'an will meet its companion in the shape of a pale-faced man on the Day of Resurrection when his grave is opened. The Qur'an will ask him, "Do you know me?" The man will say, "I do not know you." The Qur'an will say, "I am your companion, the Qur'an, which has brought you thirst during the heat and made you stay up during the night. Every merchant has his certain trade. But, this Day, you are behind all types of trade." Kingship will then be given to him in his right hand, eternal life in his left hand and the crown of grace will be placed on his head. His parents will also be granted two garments that the people of this life could never afford. They will say, "Why were we granted these garments?" It will be said, "Because your son was carrying the Qur'an." It will be said (to the reader of the Qur'an), "Read and ascend through the levels of Paradise." He

Domestication and Foreignization

Christianization, or normalization, had limits, however. A particular problem thrown up by the Qur'ān is the range of meanings of the root ح ر م (*h-r-m*) and its derivatives. The most important use of the word is for *المَسْجِدُ الْحَرَامُ* (*al-masjīd al-ḥarām*).¹⁶ The first two attempts at translation of the phrase simply give its geographic reference: 'uersus Meccham templique sue' (towards Mecca and its temple)¹⁷ and 'uersus centrum templi Mecche' (towards the centre of the temple of Mecca).¹⁸ The following two occurrences dispense with the 'temple', and just refer to Mecca: 'apud Meccham', 'e Meccha' (at/from Mecca).¹⁹ The difficulty provided by *ḥarām* is solved, in these cases, by providing the geographical location to which the words were then understood as referring — and the assumption is that the readership will know of the significance both of the city and its place of worship.

A further deployment of *ḥarām* to provide a sense of ritual sacrality is to describe the 'sacred month' (*الْحَرَامُ الشَّهْرُ* · *al-ṣahri al-ḥarāmi*), the month of

will go on ascending as long as he recites, whether reciting slowly or quickly' (*Tafsir Ibn Kathir*, Sura 2, *Al-Baqara*, Introduction). Another version is provided in the *Sunan of Abu Dawud*, no. 565: 'The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: If anyone recites the Qur'ān and acts according to its contents, on the Day of Judgment his parents will be given to wear a crown whose light is better than the light of the sun in the dwellings of this world if it were among you. So what do you think of him who acts according to this.' The crown is also (rarely) associated with the rewards of martyrdom: 'Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) said, "The martyr receives six good things from Allah: he is forgiven at the first shedding of his blood; he is shown his abode in Paradise; he is preserved from the punishment in the grave; he is kept safe from the greatest terror; he has placed on his head the crown of honour, a ruby of which is better than the world and what it contains; he is married to seventy-two wives of the maidens with large dark eyes; and is made intercessor for seventy of his relatives.'" (Al-Tirmidhi, Hadith num. 1067). References taken from *Alim* <www.alim.org/library/hadith> [accessed 20 March 2018].

¹⁶ Those translators who do offer a translation into English rather than leave a transcription of the Arabic, provide varied resolutions: 'holy' (Arberry, Qaribulla-Darwish), 'inviolable' (Asad, Ghali, Pickthall), 'sacred' (Y. Ali, Daryabadi, W. Khan, A. Raza Khan, Shakir); 'house of worship' (Asad), 'mosque' (Y. Ali, Arberry, Daryabadi, Ghali, W. Khan, Qaribulla-Darwish, Shakir), 'place of worship' (Pickthall). It is worth noting, in support of Robert and Herman's decision here, that Hilali-Khan subsequently gloss the transcribed Arabic version they provide as 'the sanctuary at Makkah'.

¹⁷ *Azoara* II.8, p. 17; Qur'ān 2:144.12–14.

¹⁸ *Azoara* II.17, p. 17; Qur'ān 2:191.

¹⁹ *Azoara* II.105, III.33, pp. 24, 28; Qur'ān 2:191 (near the Sacred Mosque), 2:217 (to the Sacred Mosque).

truce: the term is glossed with an explanation: ‘mense libertatis et quietis’ (in the month of freedom and peace).²⁰ Subsequent references are rendered through a different translation: ‘post menses prohibitionis’ (after the months of truce);²¹ ‘in mensibus igitur prohibitionis et peregrinationis’ (in the months, therefore, of the truce and pilgrimage).²²

Nevertheless, there are two senses to *ḥarām*: on the one hand, that which we have seen, which may be glossed as ‘sacred’, ‘inviolable’, ‘entitled to reverence, respect, honour’; on the other, ‘forbidden, prohibited, unlawful, placed out of reach’.²³ Whilst the first might quite happily elide with the Christian sense of ‘sacred’, the second might well be understood in the veterotestamental key of ‘unclean’. Yet despite this rather obvious equivalence, in roughly the first quarter of the *Alchoran* we find a range of solutions for this latter sense of the word with the most common resolution being *illicitus* (not allowed)²⁴ or as the converse of *licitus* at XIII.36, ‘licitus ... minime’ (not permitted at all).²⁵ The basic idea of *illicitus* is repeated by a number of synonyms, such as *prohibitus* and *interdictus* — ‘quēdam prius prohibita licitis annumerabit’ (things at first prohibited he listed as allowed);²⁶ ‘interdicte sunt et illicite’ (forbidden and disallowed).²⁷ The verbal form of the root at 2:173 is similarly rendered as a verb (plural imperative, rather than singular indicative, where pork and some

²⁰ *Azoara* II.109, III.31, pp. 24, 27; Qur’ān 2:194, 2:217.

²¹ *Azoara* XII.6, p. 78; Qur’ān 5:2.

²² *Azoara* XIII.30–31, p. 90; Qur’ān 5:95. *Prohibitio* had the sense of, in Du Cange’s definition, ‘Suspension d’armes’ [ceasefire], and as a synonym of *treuga* or truce: Du Cange and others, *Glossarium*, VI, 527b. Thus the intention behind the Latin is probably a reference to the pre-Islamic outlawry of warfare during the sacred months: these are mentioned as being transgressed by Mohammad’s followers in *The History of al-Tabari*, VIII: *The Foundation of the Community*, trans. by McDonald, p. 20 (and cf. n. 46 thereat). The first reference to the *mens-es prohibitionis* (without the addition of pilgrimage) is probably because the sentence starts ‘Peregrinanti quidem cauendum...’ (Those on pilgrimage should beware lest...; *Azoara* XII.5, p. 79). English translators: ‘forbidden’ (Pickthall), ‘holy’ (A. Ali, Arberry), ‘prohibited’ (Y. Ali, Maududi), and ‘sacred’ (Asad, Daryabadi, Hilali-Khan, W. Khan, A. Raza Khan, Qaribullah-Darwish, Saheeh, Shakir).

²³ Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 353.

²⁴ *Azoara* II.110, IV.72, XII.12, 215, XIII.12, pp. 24, 36, 79, 87, 89; Qur’ān 2:194, 2:275, 5:3, 5:72, 5:87.

²⁵ *Azoara* XIII.36, p. 90; Qur’ān 5:96

²⁶ *Azoara* V.98–99, p. 45; Qur’ān 3:50.

²⁷ *Azoara* VIII.57, p. 63; Qur’ān 4:23.

other meats are recorded as having been rendered off-limits: 'uos abstinete' (keep yourselves from ...).²⁸

But by *Azoara* XIII.35–37,²⁹ a decision was taken not to translate the word into Latin at all, and it is rendered by the near-transcription, *haran*:

Omnis uenatus maris, euntibus Meccham ac discedentibus ad comedendum licitus est; terrę uero uenatus minime. [...] Mecce domum et menses ac oblationes, deus haran hominibus constituit [...]

(Every thing fished from the sea, by those going to, or coming from Mecca, is allowable for them to eat: but that which is hunted on land, not at all. The House of Mecca and the months and the sacrifices, God has established as *haram* for men.)

The form of the word is not identical to the Arabic: the final *-n*, rather than retaining the Arabic *mīm*, is presumably to signal that this is a foreign word, and avoid any attempt to construe the word as the accusative of *hara* (pigsty) or *ara* (altar/tombstone).³⁰ Yet although a decision was clearly taken to render the various potential meanings through a representation of the Arabic word, its Latin equivalents still continued to be deployed: (*il*)*licitus* and derived words figure for food and clothing,³¹ and once for adultery;³² and for Allah's laws and

²⁸ *Azoara* II.57, p. 21; Qur'ān 2:173 حَرَّمَ · *ḥarrama*, 'he forbade'. *Illicitus*: 'not allowed, forbidden, unlawful, illegal, illicit' (Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *illicitus*, and cf. also Du Cange and others, *Glossarium*, IV, 293c, s.v. *illicitator*, 'subverter of the law'); *prohibitus*: 'forbidden, withheld, debarred' (Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *prohibeo*; cf. Du Cange and others, *Glossarium*, VI, 527b where the meaning is 'not granted'; *interdictus*: 'forbidden, prohibited, banned' (Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *interdico* I.b, II.b; Du Cange and others, *Glossarium*, I, 140b, s.v. *aggravatus*); *uos abstinete*: 'keep off, hold back, ... abstain from (that which is unlawful)' according to Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *abstineo* I and II.d.

²⁹ Page 90; Qur'ān 5:96–97

³⁰ For (*h*)*ara*, see Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v., *hara* ('a pen or coop for animals ... hog-sty') and Du Cange and others, *Glossarium*, I, 349a, s.v. *ara*² ('Étable à cochons'). Despite the translators' care, the distinction of orthography was by no means always followed in the manuscript tradition, and *haram* is often found in later manuscripts, probably as an incorrectly resolved form of *harā*.

³¹ *Azoara* XVI.61, p. 107, Qur'ān 6:138; XVI.99, p. 108, Qur'ān 6:151; XVII.293, p. 124, Qur'ān 7:157; XXXI.56, p. 237, Qur'ān 22:30.

³² *Azoara* XXXIII.6, p. 247, Qur'ān 24:3.

commands.³³ But at the same time, we find *haran* being used for foodstuffs,³⁴ and for the more technical resonances of the sacred months, city and land,³⁵ just like the Sacred Mosque.³⁶ The generic sense of things forbidden is also accompanied by another coinage for that which is licit,³⁷ *hale* (imitating the root ح ل ل, *h·l·l*);³⁸ the similarity to the Middle English *hālē* (holy) and *hāle* (healthy) is perhaps not wholly accidental.³⁹

It is particularly noteworthy that, despite the verbal resources of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, *haran* is used to designate the specifically Jewish legislations of clean and unclean;⁴⁰ the Vulgate's use of *inmundus*, 'unclean', is not evoked in this context. *Inmundus* is used, but saved for a rarer Arabic word (مَقْتًا · *maqtan*, 'hateful'), and which in context (Qur'an 4:22) is connected to sexual immorality or adultery: 'cum fornicatio' (فَاحِشَةٌ · *fāḥiṣatan*, 'immorality/shameful behaviour/adultery') mala uia (سَاءَ سَبِيلٌ · *sāa sabīlan*, 'evil way') sit et inmundi (مَقْتًا · *maqtan*, 'since fornication is an evil and shameful path').⁴¹ The *Alchoran*'s favoured word, *illicitus*, is found in the Vulgate, but for something 'impermissible' and particularly reprehensible and unacceptable rather than simply transgressive of purity laws.⁴² The switch that is made here is but a small indication of the translators' increasing awareness of the need to de-Christianize their praxis.

³³ *Azoara* XVI.82, p. 108, Qur'an 6:145; XVI.89, p. 108, Qur'an 6:148; XVI.94, p. 108, Qur'an 6:150; XVII.60, p. 113, Qur'an 7:33; LXXV.3, p. 388, Qur'an 66:1.

³⁴ *Azoara* XIX.122, p. 151, Qur'an 10:59 (with *hale*); XXV.194, p. 196, Qur'an 16:115; XXVI.54, p. 199, Qur'an 17:33.

³⁵ *Azoara* XVIII.12, p. 134, Qur'an 9:5; XVIII.79–83, p. 137, Qur'an 9:36–37; XXXVI.169–70, 27:91; XXXVII.140, 28:57; XXXVIII.129, 29:67.

³⁶ *Azoara* XVII.447, p. 130, Qur'an 8:35; XVIII.18, p. 134, Qur'an 9:7; XVIII.38, p. 135, Qur'an 9:19; XVIII.77, 9:28; XXIII.76, p. 182, Qur'an 14:37; XXVI.3, p. 197, Qur'an 17:1; XXXI.46, p. 237, Qur'an 22:25; LXVII.45, p. 354, Qur'an 48:25; LXVII.53, p. 354, 48:27.

³⁷ *Azoara* XVIII.62, p. 136, Qur'an 9:29; XXXIV.89, p. 256, Qur'an 25:68.

³⁸ *Azoara* XVIII.82, p. 137; Qur'an 9:37.

³⁹ See *The Middle English Dictionary* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 2001–14) <<http://quod.lib.umich.edu>> [accessed 20 March 2018], s.v. *hōlī* and *hōl(e)*.

⁴⁰ *Azoara* XXV.197, p. 196; Qur'an 16:118.

⁴¹ *Azoara* XI.56, p. 63. *Maqtan* in this sense is also found at Qur'an 35:39, 40:35 and 61:3, but *inmundus* is not used at the corresponding places in the *Alchoran*.

⁴² Genesis 34.7: 'ecce filii eius veniebant de agro auditoque quod acciderat irati sunt valde eo quod foedam rem esset operatus in Israhel et violata filia Iacob rem illicitam perpetrasset' (see, his sons came from the fields and heard what had happened, they were extremely angry, he that had done an ill thing in Israel and violated Jacob's daughter had committed and impermissible act); Genesis 34.14: 'non possumus facere quod petitis nec dare sororem nostram homini

Within the wider scope of (scientific) translations from Arabic, the process of co-opting an Arabic word via transliteration was a common feature, although it was gradually falling out of favour during over the twelfth century.⁴³ Yet I know of no other example of such an eloquent example of translatorial struggle to remain faithful to the text and yet also give the sense of a word, as the complexity of the material became clear.

The Glories of Mud

The interplay of Arabic and Latin is found in another aspect, which we may tease out through considering some of the verses that narrate the creation of Adam, where the account draws on the biblical account but represents something, in the end, rather different. My focus will be on another Arabic word, صَلْصَل . *ṣalṣal*, which makes its way into the text as *celcal*, although it was undoubtedly in origin *çelçal*. In describing the materials that went into the shaping of man and devils, it is recorded that ‘Ille quidem hominem de celcal atque diabolos ex ignis flamma condidit’ (he (scil. God) made man from *tsetlsal*, and devils from the blaze of fire).⁴⁴ The relevant passage, Qur’ān 55.14–15, reads ‘He created man from sounding clay like unto pottery and he created Jinns from fire free of smoke’ (Yusuf Ali).⁴⁵ This might be discarded as the detritus of a first draft,

incircumciso quod illicitum et nefarium est apud nos’ (we cannot do what you ask, nor give our sister to an uncircumcized man, since it is impermissible and heinous amongst us).

⁴³ Kunitzsch, ‘Translations from Arabic’; Hughes, ‘Mathematics and Geometry’; and for the very numerous examples in the astrolabe translations, Kunitzsch, ‘Glossar des arabischen Fachausdrücke’. Medieval Latin examples: *algebra*, Du Cange and others, *Glossarium*, I, 176c–177a; *canfora*, II, 86c; *cenith*, II, 254c; *aux* (apogee), Kunitzsch, ‘Translations from Arabic’, p. 165.

⁴⁴ *Azoara* LXIV.8–9, p. 368.

⁴⁵ The translation of as ‘like unto pottery’ depends upon the root, ف خ ر . *f.k.r*], which indicates something which resounds or is boastful (Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 2349; فَخَّار [faḫḫār] is defined as ‘Baked pottery; baked vessels of clay or baked clay; before it is baked it is called صَلْصَل, i.e., *ṣalṣāl*); cf. Qur’ān 4:36 فَخُورًا [faḫūran], one who is boastful (and also at 11:10, 31:18 and 57:23). The conception of مَارِج . *mārijin*, which Yusuf Ali rendered as ‘fire free from smoke’, is defined by Lane, I, 2704, as ‘fire mixed with the black substance of fire, or a flame of fire, or fire without smoke, or the fire which makes up thunderbolts’. In particular, Lane’s definition, ‘flame of fire’, is taken from the eighteenth-century lexicographical work of al-Zabīdī, تَاجُ الْعُرُوس; it is this interpretation which is used in the *Alchoran*: ‘ignis flamma’ (*Azoara* LXIV.11 [flame of fire]). In other contexts, the root means ‘mixed’, ‘confused’, ‘pasturage’, ‘ruined’.

a word the translator was unsure of how to render, left in the original, with the unfulfilled intention of returning to it, were it not for its previous occurrence in the Qur'an, in a parallel narration of the creation of Adam (15:26–33): in this account, Allah recalls how he created man from the earth, and recalls how he informed the angels that he was going to create man from the earth, and then how Iblis pointed out that, regarding the raw materials from which they were made, Iblis himself was much better than Adam, and therefore should be considered his superior — insistence upon which was the cause of his downfall.

It is this first occasion that we shall look at now, as it provides an excellent insight into the *modus operandi* of the translators. The first time we have the materials of man's construction mentioned is Qur'an 15:26: there are three elements: 'from [1] sounding clay, from [2] mud [3] moulded into shape' (Yusuf Ali). For the first element, صَلْصَالٍ · *ṣalṣālin* (sounding clay) is characterized as the sound 'of an empty jar when it is struck, and of any dry clay or baked pottery', or of a number of ringing or tinkling sounds.⁴⁶ Lane further defines the second element (حَمًا · *hamāin*) as 'black or fetid mud'.⁴⁷ The third and final word (مَسْنُونٍ · *masnūnin*) is itself formed from a range of meanings around 'forming' or 'shaping', both physically (clay into pottery) and morally (through the giving of laws: hence سُنَّة · *sunna*, for example).⁴⁸

In the case of this verse, Allah is recalling what he did; and the *Alchoran* follows this lead: 'nos item hominem de terra et luto [...] plasmauimus' (We also shaped man from earth and mud).⁴⁹ The two words chosen, *terra* and *lutum*, cover the binary offered in the Arabic well; *lutum*, meaning loam, potter's clay,⁵⁰ and *terra*, meaning soil; and further both reflecting the binary opposition between light-coloured clay used for pottery and the dark black intended by حَمًا. What is not provided, however, is a direct allusion to the parallel pas-

⁴⁶ Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 1700–01.

⁴⁷ Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 638.

⁴⁸ Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 1435–38. Meanings associated with the front teeth of camelids may be set aside (I, 1436–37).

⁴⁹ *Azoara* XXIV.25–26, p. 184.

⁵⁰ Whilst the primary meaning of *lutum* is 'mud, mire' (cf. Cicero, *In Pisonem*, XXVI.62 'O tenebrae, o lutum, o sordes' (You Darkness! You Dirt! You Filth!)), but 'loam, clay, potter's clay' as a secondary meaning; cf. Tibullus, *Elelgiae*, Li.40 'pocula de facili conposuitque luto' (and he made drinking-vessels from tractable clay). There may perhaps be an echo of Juvenal, *Saturae*, VI.11–13, 'quippe aliter tunc orbe nouo caeoloque recenti | uiuebant homines, qui rupto robore nati | compositiue luto nullos habere parentes' (naturally, when the world was new and the heavens had just formed, men lived in a different way, since they were born from shattered oaktrees or shaped up from loam).

sage at Genesis 2:7, 'Formavit igitur dominus deus hominem de limo terrae' ('Therefore the Lord God formed man from the mud of the earth'), where *limus* means 'slime, mud, mire', 'dirt', 'excrement in the intestines', and, by analogy, 'filth, pollution', even though this would cover well the range of meanings of حَمَاء. An allusion to Judaeo-Christian scripture is expressly avoided, as we have seen with the sensitivity to the associations around *haran*.⁵¹

The phrase we have been considering is repeated verbatim on two further occasions, at 15:28 and 15:33, and almost all translators into English simply repeat the phrase they have used at first, at 15:26.⁵² At 15:28, Allah informs the angels what he was about to do: 'Behold! Thy Lord said to the angels, "I am about to create man, from sounding clay, from mud moulded into shape"' (Yusuf Ali); and, at 15:33, Iblis protests at being told to bow before Adam, saying, 'I am not one to prostrate myself to man, whom Thou didst create from sounding clay, from mud moulded into shape' (Yusuf Ali). There are thus two speakers, and three different settings for the enunciation. In this context, it is understandable that, as we shall see, the translator chose a highly effective *variatio* against the iterative repetition of his source.

The phrasing is varied only slightly at the second occurrence: *terrae* is omitted, *luto* maintained, and the verb elegantly slips into the passive voice: 'me plasmaturum hominem de luto' (by me will man from mud be shaped).⁵³ Yet when it came to the devil's rebellion, a significant variation is used: 'Belzebug ... dixit: Qualiter homini de luto cenoque nigro plasmato me subiciam?' (Beelzebub said, 'How shall I make myself subject to man shaped from mud and black filth?').⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Lutum* is used by Ambrose, *De Noe et arca*, I.24 (§ 86): 'geminam hominis generationem [...]: unam secundum imaginem dei, alteram secundum figmentum de luto terrae' (the twin creation of man: the first, according to the image of God; the second, according to something form from slime off the ground), *PL* XIV, col. 401C; and Ioannes Scotus Eriugena, *De divisione naturae*, II.xxv.12, 'fragile atque mortale de luto terrae sibimet habitaculum crearet' (he created for himself a weak and passing dwelling-place from mud), *De divisione naturae libri quinque*, ed. by Schlüter, p. 141; *PL* CXXII, 583C. The allusion is probably to a version of Job 38:14 from the *Vetus latina* used, for example, by Augustine: Aurelius Augustinus, *Annotaciones in Iob*, XXXVIII: 'Et tu sumens terrae lutum figurasti animal?' (And you taking the mud of the earth, did you shape a living being?), *PL* XXXIV, col. 873). But these are the only references I have tracked down — and they are rather *recherché* ones at that.

⁵² Arberry: 'of a clay of mud moulded'; M. Khan: 'from sounding clay of altered black smooth mud'; Pickthall: 'out of potter's clay of black mud altered'; Sarwar: 'out of pure mud-moulded clay'; Shakir: 'of clay that gives forth sound, of black mud fashioned in shape'.

⁵³ *Azoara* XXIV.27, p. 184.

⁵⁴ *Azoara* XXIV.30–31, p. 184.

Lutum provides the common element. In the mouth of God, and united to *terra*, its more positive meaning comes to the fore; in the mouth of Beelzebub, however, it is the negative side, joined as it is to *caenum* (or *coenum*), which, in Lewis and Short's dictionary, is defined as 'dirt, filth, mud, mire (always with accessory idea of loathsomeness, different from *limus*, *lutum*, etc.)'.⁵⁵ This is not simply variation for the sake of a greater realism for the *dramatis personae*, an indication through literary sophistication that all was fiction; rather, the range of meanings shown forth in the translation are themselves reflections of the *varatio* within the Islamic commentary tradition. Thus, for example, the *Tafsīr ibn'Abbas*, Qur'an 15:26, glosses the two elements that concern us as follows: صَلْصَالٍ, 'of dry clay'; مَسْنُونٍ حَمًا, 'clay that stinks; it is also said that this means: shaped clay'.⁵⁶ We may conclude that the translators have approached their source material in a highly intelligent fashion, deploying the varied readings that they found in the commentary tradition to produce a much more satisfying and dramatic narrative, offering the range of meanings that the Arabic was deemed to have, and so to give the various voices in and interpretations of the Qur'anic text a rational space, creatively faithful to the materials they were manipulating.

Transmission and Initial Reception

The work of the translators began and ended whilst they were still in Spain. However, the text was distributed from Cluny, and there it was adorned with numerous glosses and interlinear annotations. The earliest example of the first stages in transmission is provided by Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1162.⁵⁷ The text of the *Alchoran* in this manuscript has been provided with a series of annotations, at the same time as it has been corrected against another

⁵⁵ cf. C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *Vitellius*, XVII.2, 'stercore et caeno' (with dung and filth).

⁵⁶ *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn'Abbas*, trans. by Guezzou, pp. 274–75. The commentary repeats 'stinking mud' (but not 'black mud altered') at 15:28; at 15:33, it rephrases Iblis's words, 'It is not becoming of me to prostate to clay' (p. 275). The commentary to 55.14 reads '(He created man) i.e. Adam (of clay like the potter's) out of which pottery is made.' The biblical phrasing does appear in Beelzebub's mouth, when he is described as justifying his decision not to follow the divine command to bow before Adam: 'Quia ego factus ex igne ille de terre limo plasmato, preualeo' ('I am superior because I am made from fire, he is shaped from the mud of the earth'; *Azoara* XVII.20, p. 111; Qur'an 7:15) and in the prophet Schale's address, 'O gens deum ... qui te de terre limo plasmauit ... adora' ('O people, worship God who shaped you from the mud of the earth'; *Azoara* XX.115–16, p. 160; Qur'an 11:61).

⁵⁷ First significantly described by d'Alverny, 'Deux traductions latines'; further refined in her 'Quelques manuscrits'.

manuscript, down to minutiae of punctuation. It has, in other words, been corrected against another exemplar deemed to have more authority, probably because copious notes had been made on that modelic manuscript, or because it may have included elements of a later draft sent by the translators. Since the corrections to the Arsenal manuscript deleted a number of lines of text in various places, we may presume that the model offered a text with some omissions, probably caused by the mechanics of copying, since these lines contain nothing salacious, nor blasphemous; nor are the words deleted additions by the translators to the Qur'an. Indeed, in one case, the omission makes following the narrative flow impossible. We may take the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon. The text is as follows, with the words that have been crossed out by the corrector placed in italics:⁵⁸

Illam itaque uisam magnatibus aduocatis regina perlegit, in ea uidens nomen Salomonis, *et in nomine dei pii et misericordis, et non michi resistatis sed credentes accedite*. Illi igitur magnates consulenti quid sibi uideretur inde gerendum esse.

(And so, having seen it [Solomon's letter], having called the important men of the kingdom, seeing Solomon's name in it, and *'in the name of God the kind and merciful, and do not resist me but as believers come close'*. Those leading men, therefore, advising what they thought should be done thenceforth.)

It is, then, reasonable to assume that an early version of the *Alchoran* represented by Arsenal MS 1162 was thus brought into line with what might be considered the 'authorized Cluniac version', and it was from that manuscript that subsequent copies were taken. Transmission inevitably involves a loss of information. Nevertheless, it may also involve a gain in other forms, and so now I shall turn to the marginalia copied into Arsenal MS 1162: these are almost identical to those found in the late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century copies that have survived, and so we may conclude that they formed a fundamental part of how the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries approached the text.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Arsenal MS 1162, fol. 97^{vb}; *Azoara* XXXVI, 55–58; Qur'an 27:29–32. Yusuf Ali's version of this passage is the following: '(The queen) said: "Ye chiefs! Here is delivered to me — a letter worthy of respect. It is from Solomon and is (as follows): 'In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful: Be ye not arrogant against me but come in submission (to the true Religion)."' She said, "Ye chiefs! Advise me in (this) my affair: no affair have I decided except in your presence."'

⁵⁹ The fullest account of the annotations and their development to date is found in Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, pp. 78–121.

The annotations themselves are a hotch-potch. The fundamental tone of them, as is perhaps to be expected, is polemical; but any attempt to affect disappointed surprise at this intolerant feature can only succeed by forgetting just how polemical the Qur'ān itself is, and ignoring how this fundamental element of the sacred text had no little part to play in the evident surprise and shock it created amongst the first Latin readers of the *Alchoran*.

The Idol's Temple

The desire which lay at the origin of the commission of the translators' work — to provide material for a refutation of Islamic belief — evidently colours the style of the annotations. Yet attempts at explanation often trump polemic: thus at fol. 125^{vb}, for example, above *celcal*, an explanatory interlinear note observes 'id est de limo' (that is, of clay):⁶⁰ quite correct, but using the word from the Vulgate Genesis which had been studiously avoided by the translators themselves. Yet it is the glosses to *haran* which provide the best indication of the difficulties that the text provided to someone unfamiliar with both Arabic and the cultural background in which the Qur'ān was understood. The first two annotations relating to the word occur on fol. 62^{vb}, in relation to the following lines, and centre upon the two occurrences of the word *haran*:

Non credentes in deum, dieique future, et non facientes haran que suo legato deus haran constituit [...] expugnate.⁶¹

(Fight those who do not believe in God and in the Last Day, and those who do not consider *haram* what God and His Messenger have made *haram*.)

An interlinear gloss is provided over the second occurrence of the word: 'templum Mecce' (the temple of Mecca); and a marginal annotation added for the first: 'Haran templum Mecce ubique intellige. Illum est nichilominus locum dicunt Abraham dedicasse, ibique deum coluisse' (Understand *haran* everywhere as the temple of Mecca; they say that that that place was consecrated by Abraham and that there he worshipped God). *Haran*, as we have seen, had been used previously in the *Alchoran* for the Meccan temple, but here, obviously — one might think — it could not apply in that sense. The glossator was working solely from the text before him, without background knowledge of the range of meanings that the word held.

⁶⁰ *Azoara* LXIV.8, p. 368.

⁶¹ *Azoara* XVIII.79–83; Qur'ān 9:29.

A much longer marginal annotation attempts to extricate the opposed meanings of the translators' two coinages from Arabic, *haran* and *hale*. A first attempt is found at fol. 61^{ra}, where *hale* is glossed, 'locus alius qui non placebat ei' (another place he did not like).⁶² This thought is expanded later, where, to the words 'Vos itaque dei bona saporifera et hale comedentes ...' (You, therefore, who eat the good things of God, tasty and *hale* ...),⁶³ the following note was appended:

Nota. Hale templum ydoli tale nomen habentis, et Haran templum Mecce, pro licito et illicito ponit. Ac si diceret, licita solummodo comedite, et cauete ne illa que deus per me uobis mandauit illicita comedatis, ista scilicet morticinum et sanguinem, et porcum et quod non fuerit in dei nomine occisum. (Arsenal MS 1162, fol. 78^{ra})

(Note. He puts *Hale* (the temple of an idol which had such a name) and *Haran* (the temple of Mecca) for allowed and not allowed. That is as if he were to say, Eat only what is allowed, and beware lest you eat that which God establishes through me as not allowed for you, that is namely dead animals and blood, and pork, and what is not killed in God's name.)

The sense is correctly arrived at (those things actually banned are understood as being banned), but not the individual meaning of the words. Nevertheless, a dialogue is created on the same page, with *haran* being glossed, correctly, as 'id est illicita' (that is, not allowed).⁶⁴ Still later we find, glossing *haran*: 'id est prohibitis a nutritura eius. Hale et haran licitum et illicitum' (that is forbidden for his future sustenance — *hale* and *haran*: allowed and not allowed).⁶⁵ And at XL.18, *haran* is again glossed as *illicitum*.⁶⁶ It is difficult to imagine that these glosses could have been the work of a single annotator, or even a group of annotators working together; or yet more a minimally critical compiler of his own

⁶² *Azoara* XVIII.83, p. 137.

⁶³ *Azoara* XXV.189, p. 195; Qur'an 16:114.

⁶⁴ Arsenal MS 1162, fol. 78^{rb}; *Azoara* XXV.197, p. 196; Qur'an 16:118.

⁶⁵ Arsenal MS 1162, fol. 99^{rb}; *Azoara* XXXVII.20, p. 271.

⁶⁶ Arsenal MS 1162, fol. 103^{vb}; *Azoara* XL.18, p. 286; Qur'an 31:13. Noteworthy is also the interlinear gloss to *Azoara* XXVI.54–55, p. 199, Qur'an 17:33. The text reads, 'A deo positum haran non perimas, nisi pro ueritate' (What God establishes *haram* do not destroy, except for the truth); the gloss above *haran*, 'id est hominem quem deus prohibet occidi' (that is the man whom God forbids that one should kill); the verse is usually taken (e.g., *Tafsir ibn 'Abbas*) as prohibiting the killing of fellow believers. The equation here may be with the earliest meaning of the Latin *sacer*; cf. Agamben, *Homo sacer*.

and others' annotations: we are left, then, with an uncritical and unquestioning assembler of annotations from conflicting sources, almost undoubtedly from different manuscripts.

The Use of the Author-Function

One part of this assemblage is composed of annotations with an interpretative function: since the annotator(s) ascribed the whole of the Qur'ān to Muhammad (not as mortal mouthpiece for the communication of divine messaging, but all-too-human author), then the *Alchoran* became a means of providing a form of polemical literary criticism. And thus, to take an example almost at random, *Azoara* LXIV.14–16 offers the following: 'Omnis quidem res mundana terminabitur, sola uera dei maximi largissimique facies, est interminabilis' (All things terrestrial will brought to an end, only the true, great and most generous face of God is unending).⁶⁷ The marginal annotation calls attention to the passage: 'Nota quam insane et insulse loquitur, sicut diabolico spiritu agitates' (Note how madly and stupidly he speaks, as if he were excited by a demonic spirit). The annotation uses three key adjectives which express the set of concepts by which the Qur'ān is parsed, in that they serve to characterize Muḥammad, and the motivations of his pseudo-prophetic enunciation: raging insanity, silliness and stupidity, demonic involvement. *Insanus* and *hereticus* come together in the first explication of Qur'ānic Christology (and within the first score of annotations within the manuscript):

Hoc dicit propter Christianos, quos mirabili insania putat tres deos credere, quoniam Christum et Spiritum Sanctum equales deo patri dicunt, et nota quod in isto heresis Arriana reuixit.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ *Azoara* LXIV.14–16, p. 368; Qur'ān 55:26–27. Cf. Yusuf Ali's version: 'All that is on earth will perish: But will abide (for ever) the Face of thy Lord — full of Majesty, Bounty and Honour.'

⁶⁸ Arsenal MS 1162, fol. 26^{ra}; *Azoara* I.20 *nullum existere*, p. 4. The relevant text of the translation is: 'Omnes igitur homines deum, uestri priumque factorem, qui terram in imo celumque summo disposuit, et imbres ac arbores earumque fructus producit, inuocantes time, eique nullum existere parem firmate, huncque librum ueracem esse penitus credite' (Let all men fear and call upon God, your first creator, who placed the earth below and the heavens above, and brings forth rains and trees and their fruit, let all affirm that he has no equal, and believe without hesitation that this book is true); *Azoara* I.23–28.

(He says this with regard to Christians, whom (through an astonishing madness) he thinks believe in three gods, since they say Christ and the Holy Spirit are equal to God the Father, and note that in this the Arian heresy has been revived.)

In the allusion to the heresy of Arius, I doubt the annotator is taxing Muslims with being the same as Arians in believing in three gods, one subordinate to the other, since the strict monotheism of the Qur'an is perfectly obvious. Rather, the heresy of Arius (having long ago disappeared when the annotator set quill to parchment) was given new life in that it was wrongly applied to all Christians, and thus the heretical error continued to live.

We may multiply the number of times that raving madness is identified as a cause of some or other part of the text, usually associated with some heretical idea, or connected to ideas dismissive of either Jewish or Christian belief, for example, the rubric to *Azoara* XI:⁶⁹

Hic non occidisse Iudeos Christum, sed nescio quem similem eius, nec deum habere filium, inter solitas insanias dicit, quod et sepe facit.

(Here, amongst his usual ravings, he says (as he often does) that the Jews did not kill the Christ, but I do not know whom, someone who looked like him, and that God does not have a son.)

Indeed, the denial of the Trinity was seen as the central element of the 'madness': '... cum superius ubique dicat deum non habere filium, et hoc sit tota summa insanie eius, ambigue et uarie ac diabolice loquens' (as above he says everywhere that God has no son, and this is the central part of his madness, speaking with double meanings, and with different terms, and like a demon).⁷⁰ Departures from Sacred Scripture are particularly castigated; moreover the

⁶⁹ Madness and heresy are also found together at 'heretice insaniens' (going mad with heresy'), *Azoara* I.168 *consimile uel leuius*, p. 12); 'delirans et insaniens' (hallucinating and raving), *Azoara* XIII.73 *uiris ... indutis*, p. 92. Narrative details also attract condemnation, such as, 'Nota iterum insaniam et stulticiam' (Take note again of the ravings and the stupidity), *Azoara* LXXV.29 *ut ipsam*, p. 390; 'Nota insaniam' (N.B.: crazy), *Azoara* XXXVI.67 *Que paupamentum*, p. 267; 'Mira insania dicit, diabolos nuncium se missum fuisse' (He says an astonishingly mad thing, that he was sent as a messenger to the devils), *Azoara* XVI.42, *Plebs hominum*, p. 106. The concept also makes its appearance in the rubrics to *Azoara* themselves, such as XXXI, 'insaniis mendacibus et solitis neniarum replicationibus inuoluta' (wrapped up in lying hallucinations and the usual repetitious silliness) (p. 235), and LXXXIII, 'Azoara uana mendax et insana' (senseless, deceitful, and mad) (p. 401).

⁷⁰ *Azoara* XCIX.3 *Per terram*, p. 419.

repetitiousness of the errors suggest some form of demonic involvement, as the rubric to *Azoara* XVII demonstrates:

Hic intexit fabulas infinitas de Adam et Eua et Behelzebub, et prophetis quibusdam inauditis, et de Moyse, solita deliramenta et insanias et uerba stultissima reiterare non cessans, agitante se spiritu maligno.⁷¹

(Here he puts together uncountable tales about Adam and Eve and Beelzebub, and about certain unheard-of prophets, and about Moses, never ceasing to repeat the usual delusions, and follies and most stupid words, driving himself with an evil spirit.)

Lies and madness are brought together on numerous occasions in the annotations;⁷² so too is madness and repetitiousness, and madness and stupidity.⁷³

Nevertheless, it is clear from the annotations that in no way is the madness attributed to Muhammad an *extasis*, a wholly irrational state, since the attribution of laws, precepts and commands to God in the *Alchoran* is understood by the annotator as arising from Muhammad's own perception of the rational indefensibility of his heretical ravings (*Azoara* V.36 *dic*, p. 41):

Facit sibi deum prohibere ne unquam disputet cum aliquo de lege, sciens utique nullam se habere rationem, utpote conscius sibi tot mendaciorum et insanie hereticę. Et hoc sepe facit.

(He makes on his own behalf God forbid that anyone should argue at any time with anyone regarding the law, knowing for sure that he was not right, in as much as he was aware all was lies and heretical ravings. And this he often does.)

⁷¹ *Azoara* XVII, p. 110.

⁷² 'Nota quanta insania, quanta mendacia' (Take note of how much madness, how many lies), *Azoara* XIII.72 *tibi ... datis*, p. 92; 'Azoara uicesima. Solitis insaniis et mendaciis plena' (*Azoara* full of the usual ravings and lies), *Azoara* XX.1, p. 155; 'Nota insana mendacia, et mendaces insanias' (Note the raving lies, and the deceitful ravings), *Azoara* XXI.48, *Fere tamen*, p. 167; 'Nota insanias mendaces, quas assidue repetit' (Attend to the deceitful ravings, which he repeats assiduously), *Azoara* XXIV.25, *Nos item*, p. 184; 'Nota insanias fabulosissimas, et fabulas insanissimas que sequuntur' (Pay attention to the most fanciful ravings and the extremely mad fancies which follow), *Azoara* XLVII.32, *Errantes quidem*, p. 315; 'Nota quam insanum mendacium et quam mendax insania' (Note what a mad lie and what lying madness), *Azoara* LXX.12, p. 382; 'Nota ubique mendacia et insanias falsas' (Note the ever-present lies and untrue ravings), *Azoara* LXXXI.9, *Nos prius*, p. 399; 'Azoara uanitatis et insanie plena' (*Azoara* full of nonsense and raving), *Azoara* LXXXII.1 and LXXXVIII.1, pp. 400, 408.

⁷³ 'Verba iterum atque iterum replicans, stultitie atque insanie plenissima' (Repeating the same words again and again, most full of stupidity and senselessness), *Azoara* XXV.1, p. 187; 'Quanta insania, quanta stultitia' (How far gone, how far dumb!), *Azoara* XXV.76–76, *Non ... edoceat*, p. 189.

One explanation adopted which avoids motiveless malignity is ascribing at least some of the *Alchoran*'s import to madness brought on by lust (XLII.87 *Viri seu femine*):⁷⁴

Nota quomodo post tantam curam mulierum suarum, statim sermonem facit de castitate, ut cooperiat lecacitatem suam, qua pre cunctis hominibus in mulieres libidine insaniebat.

(Pay attention to how, after so much care shown for his own wives, he immediately preaches chastity, so that he might cover his lustful behaviour, since above all men he was driven mad by desire for women.)

The view formed is that the divine revelations have an ulterior motive, and, echoing the formulation above, at V. *dic*, the gloss insists that self-justificatory words are being placed into God's mouth: 'Nota iterum lecacitatem, quomodo facit sibi deum loqui, ut quascumque uoluerit constupret' (Note again the lechery, how he makes God talk to him, so that he might force whomsoever he wills into sexual intercourse).⁷⁵

This view of Muhammad as motivated, above all, by lechery, may also be extended to Muslims: in the comment detailing the behaviour during Ramadan, 'In ea quippe nocte uigilantes [...] garriunt, saliunt, bibunt, insaniunt' (II.110 *Romadān*, 'In that night, as you see, they chatter, leap about, drink, go wild'). But lust is not the only explanation for the disagreeable nature of the *Alchoran*. Another is a lack of learning, as basic physics is applied to one the miracles claimed for God's power (XXV.172 *auēs*):

⁷⁴ And note also: 'Nota lecacitatem' ('Take note of the lechery'), *Azoara* XII.20 *Querentibus a te*, p. 79; 'assidue scortabat lecator pessimus' (the most terrible lecher consorted [with married women] continuously), *Azoara* XXXIII.39, *Vir bonus*, p. 248; 'Nota lecacitatem insanam' (Here — mad lust), *Azoara* XLVI.31, *habentes mulieres*, p. 310. One *Azoara* rubric is explicit about the contents: 'Totius lecacitis plena' (Chock-full of lust), *Azoara* XLVI.1, p. 309. The range of meanings of *lecator* stretched from sibyrite to pimp; Du Cange and others, *Glossarium*, v, 50b: 'Catillo, scurra ... Leno ... vaniloquus' (glutton, rake, pimp, liar), with *lec(c)acitas* meaning 'officium lenonis' or 'lenocinium' (behaving as a pimp).

⁷⁵ *Azoara* XLII.92 *mulieres omnes*, p. 295. The same idea also lies behind *Azoara* LXVII.4, *Sue coniuges*, p. 375: 'Quēdam mulier conquesta erat de marito suo quod uolens eam dimittere imposuerat ei quod esset mater eius, propterea pater illius hominis concubuerat cum ea sicut dicebatur. Cui more suo sicut semper mulieribus ualde compatiens, facit sibi deum loqui et illam excusare et ostendere innocentem' (A certain woman's husband complained about her, for as he wished to divorce her he claimed that she was his mother, since his own father had lain with her as was said; in his usual fashion, as he was ever compassionate towards women, he made God speak to him and excuse her and show her as innocent).

Nota imperitiam hominis insani, qui putat aues uolantes non aere sed quasi uirtute dei pro miraculo sustentari, cum sicut pisces natantes aqua, sic aer uolantes aues sustineat, nutu quidem et instituto dei ab initio, non sicut ipse intelligit insolito et inuisibili miraculo.

(Take note of the ignorance of the madman, who thinks birds when they fly are held up not by the air but as if by the power of God by miracle, when, just like fish swimming in the water so the air holds up birds whilst they fly, willed and instituted by God from the beginning, not as he understands it, as by an unwonted and unseen miracle.)

Dissemination

The text of the *Alchoran latinus* exists in manuscripts dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The glosses that I have been considering from the Arsenal manuscript did not have quite the success of the translation itself, and suffered a process of lenition whereby the overtly hostile and polemic annotations — other than those contained within rubrics to the individual *Azoara* — dropped out of the presentation of the manuscripts: thus, for example, in the case of the late fifteenth-century Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C.210 inf., references to Muhammad as *insanus*, and so forth, are singularly absent, apart from in the more conservative areas of rubrication. Even these mentions disappear in the copy preserved in Dresden, Saxon State and University Library, MS 120b (of which more below), and which show a concerted effort to maintain an un-contentious tone.⁷⁶

Simplification

An excellent indication of the spirit which animated the reading of the *Alchoran* in the later part of the Middle Ages is the series of excerpted marginal notes and (edited) sections of the *Alchoran* itself which formed an epitome, most notably preserved in the fifteenth-century Dresden MS 120b, fol. XXXVII^r–LXXIII^v.

⁷⁶ Thus, for example, the rubric to *Azoara* X (words omitted in MS 120b are placed in italics); 'Item cohortationes ad pugnam *et ea que sepe solet deliramenta repetit*' (Again, encouragement to battle, *and those ravings repeated as he is wont to do*); *Azoara* XII, 'Ea que solet repetit, *et more suo uana et fabulosa et impia intexit*' (He repeats the usual stuff, *and as is his habit he sticks in useless, made-up and disrespectful things*). The omissions were not down to scribal economy: *Azoara* XVI, 'multipliciter solitas nenias et insanias repetit' ('he repeats the usual stupid stories and crazy ideas many times') is reworked to 'Solita repetit multipliciter' ('he repeats the usual things many times over').

This manuscript is probably from Rome or Campania, and it contains an epitome of the *Alchoran* (termed *Tabula* in the manuscript itself) which is placed before the text of the *Alchoran* itself and acts both as a table of contents, highlighting *loca notabiliora* through the preservation of marginal annotations, and also as a digest, with sometimes lengthy excerpts, occasional appraisals, and instructions to the implied reader.⁷⁷

The process of excision of text led to the erasure of the Arabic words used by the translators: *haran*, for example, is not found in the *Tabula*. Thus the original reading of the *Alchoran* ‘cum omnium rerum haran numero apud deum determinate’ (when all forbidden things are fixed in number with God)⁷⁸ becomes ‘Omnium rerum numerus apud deum determinatus’ (The number of all things is specified with God).⁷⁹ The Sacred Mosque is referred to simply as ‘Mecha’ and is linked to Abraham’s foundation, and Muhammad’s *mir’aj*.⁸⁰ The topic of forbidden and permitted foodstuffs is repeatedly signalled by *(in)licitus*, rather than any other word.⁸¹

Similarly, historical (ultimately Qur’ān-based) rather than moral evaluations of Muhammad predominate: XLIX.7, ‘Dicunt Maumet demoniacum’ (They said Muhammad was possessed); LXX.10, ‘Maumet demoniacus et amens habitus fuit’ (Muhammad was considered to be demon-possessed and out of his mind). The evaluations of beliefs and stories as *insani* have passed away. Indeed, even the key Christological differences with Islam are recorded in an eirenic key: XVIII.23–24, ‘Christum Iudei non interfecerunt, sed alium sibi similem; Christum uero deus ad se sursum traxit’ (The Jews did not kill the Christ, but someone who was like him; indeed, God lifted Christ up to himself).

⁷⁷ See Burman, *Reading the Qur’ān*, pp. 103–10.

⁷⁸ *Azoara* XVIII, p. 108.

⁷⁹ *Epitome* XXXVI.7.

⁸⁰ Reference is to my edition: *Alchoran latinus*, II: *Epitome Alchorani*. *Epitome* IV.11–12, ‘Arabes orantes uersus Meche templum faciem uertant ubi primo Abraam templum fundauit’ (The Arabs, when they pray, turn their face towards Mecca, where Abraham first built the temple); cf. LXV.21, ‘Abraam posuit templum Meche’ (Abraham built the temple of Mecca); LIII.5, ‘Maumet una nocte a Mecha in Ierusalem a deo translatus est, ut instrueretur ab eo’ (Muhammad was taken from Mecca to Jerusalem in one night by God, that he might be taught by him).

⁸¹ *Epitome* IX.14, ‘Cibi liciti et illiciti’, passim.

Creation

The significant evolution that has gone on may be seen in the notes referring to the Creation of Adam in the *Tabula* and comparing these with the Arsenal manuscript:

Creatio Ade et preceptum ad eum.
 Homo similis deo in terra.
 Multa Deus scit, que ignorant angeli.
 Angeli humiliati sunt Ade preter Belzebub.
 Tentatio Ade a diabulo.
 Expulsio Ade et Eue ex paradiso. (*Epitome* I.31–36)

(The creation of Adam and the precept given to him. | Man is like God upon the earth. | God knows many things of which the angels are unaware. | The angels bowed down before Adam, except Beelzebub. | The temptation of Adam by the Devil. | The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise.)

There is much here that would be familiar to a Christian reader: the Creation of Adam, the communication of divine instruction (I.31: Genesis 2.7, 16–17); man in the similitude of God (I.32: Genesis 1.26–27); Adam tempted by the Devil (I.35: Genesis 3.1–7), and the removal of the first man and the first woman from Eden (I.36: Genesis 3.23–24). Departures from the biblical account — again, obvious to a contemporary reader — would be the distinction between divine and angelic knowledge, and the bowing down of the angels (and therefore the explanation of the Fall of the Devil).

When comparing the *Epitome* with the *Alchoran* itself, the first line cited (‘Creatio Ade et preceptum ad eum’) spans two disparate parts of the narrative, and may act as a subheading, gathering together what follows beneath it (and referring to *Azoara* I.43 and 47). The biblical resonances, however, are also drawn from the text of the *Alchoran*: the second line (*Epitome* I.32) mirrors God’s ‘angelis intimans se facturum sui similem in terram’ (informing the angels that He would make one His like upon the earth; *Azoara* I.43–44); the temptation and expulsion similarly from *Azoara* I.59–60: ‘Quos ab hoc consilio diabolica suggestio semouens, eosdem eiciendos a paradiso prostituit’ (He shamed, by forcing them from paradise, those very ones who [i.e. Adam and Eve] had set aside this counsel [not to eat the forbidden fruit] with the encouragement of the Devil).

The additions to the biblical story are but paraphrases of the text of the *Alchoran* as well: *Epitome* I.34 parallels *Azoara* I.54–55, ‘Vnde angeli iussi se coram Adam humiles exhibere, nequam Beelzebub excepto paruerunt’ (And

so the angels came — except evil Beelzebub — to humble themselves before Adam); and I.33 summarizes *Azoara* I.47, ‘Tunc deus se rem ab angelis ignoratam scire firmans’ (Then God declaring that He knew something that the angels did not). It is a particularly kind summary, when placed next to the marginal note in the Arsenal manuscript: ‘Nota ridiculum, quod deus iactauerit se scire quod angeli nesciebant’ (Take note of the idiocy, that God should boast about knowing what angels do not; *Azoara* I.47 *Tunc deus*). Indeed, the bald summary at I.31 and the overall development stands out against the Arsenal’s much more hostile marginal summation of the story: ‘Sequitur de deo et Adam et angelis et diabolo fabula stultissima, quam nescio ubi repererit, sicut nec de aliis innumeris quas sepiissime interseret’ (There follows the most idiotic tale regarding God, and Adam, and the angels, and the Devil, where he found it I do not know, as I do not know regarding the other uncountable tales which he so very often sets down; *Azoara* I.43 *disposuit*).

Aesthetic appreciations are juxtaposed; praise of feminine beauty, condemnation of loud male voices:

Oculos maxime laudat Maumet, quorum albugines sint candidissime, pupille nigerrime; et alibi uocem asino similem maxime uituperat, et iubet cauendum esse ab illis hominibus.

(Muhammad most greatly praises the eyes when the whites are most brilliant, the pupils deepest black; and in another place, voice like an ass he most harshly criticizes, and orders that one should beware of these men.)

The reference is to *Azoara* XL.43–44, ‘Vox enim nulla peior est asinina, et deus fraudulentos et iactatores abhorret’ (No cry is worse than the ass’s, and God hates deceivers and the boastful).

Distance and Assimilation

The approach is, however, by no means uncritical: *Epitome* CIII. 6–7, following immediately upon the previous citation, condemns the image of paradise presented to the reader: ‘Paradisi uoluptates corporales plebeasque et status per hanc totam cartam latissime narrat et absurd’ (The pleasures of paradise — fleshy, crass — and its situation are enumerated at length and with absurdity throughout this page).⁸²

⁸² The *page* in question is that of the manuscript from which the annotations were originally taken, and to which the numbers used throughout refer: the numeration however has

Yet this hostility only tells part of the story. An eye is kept upon details that escape from the expected: *Epitome* IX.12 ‘Paradisi gaudia non talia qualia hic; lege omnino ibi’ (The joys of Paradise not just like here: read everything there). As here, the implied reader is directed to the text of the *Alchoran* for more information: LI.19–20, ‘Omnia hominis gratia facta esse; ibi lege in multis uerbis’ (All things are done for men through grace: read there in many words). The desire in many entries, as with the last, is to draw out a theological point from the text of the *Alchoran*, at times deducing a statement about the divine nature from its context, as at IX.11 ‘Legum intimator et bonorum largitur omnium deus’ (God is the communicatory of laws and the giver of all good things), which is drawn from *Azoara* V.18–23; and we should further note that the crucial omission of the Qur’ānic insistence upon the Last Day from the *Epitome*’s excerption is highly characteristic:

Ille igitur post legem suam rectam a se nobis intimatam, cum sit omnium bonorum largitor, omniumque gentium congregator illa die post certum a deo terminum propositum uentura, qua nec proles neque pecunia, nec eloquium prodesse quibit animos nostros infirmari mutariue non patiatur.

(He, then, after He has communicated his right law to us, since He is the giver of all good things, and the gatherer of all peoples on that day which will come after being delayed by God for a certain time, on which neither children nor riches, nor fine words will be able to assist, will not allow our souls to weaken or change.)

Thus LXII.2–3, ‘Ex dei uoluntate cunctorum abundantia bonorum procedit’ (the profusion of all good things comes from the will of God) is a *rifacimento* of the more limited *Azoara* IX.132–36, which emphasises not God’s mercy, but rather the reward of those who follow the Prophet:

Omnis quidem deum legatumque suum sequens, prophetis suisque credulis dei que nomine peremptis, quibus deus misericordiam contulit associabitur, deo dante ex cuius uelle et misericordia cunctorum abundantia bonorum procedit.

(Every one who follows God and his deputy, who believes in his prophets and who is killed for God’s name, to whom God offers mercy, will be joined to them, by God’s gift, from whose will and mercy all good things flow.)

fossilized in the Dresden *Tabula* where these page- or folio-references are mistakenly taken as indicating ‘chapter’ numbers, but they match neither the divisions of the *Alchoran* or the *mise-en-page* of the Dresden manuscript.

It is almost as if a form of assimilation is being carried out, whereby the Qur'ānic emphasis on the Prophet and the Last Day is transferred into a more philosophically sophisticated theological environment, and the texts are returned to a reading acceptable to philosophy where possible, whilst never losing sight of the potential alterity of the *Alchoran* itself.⁸³ At times this assimilation takes on the form of highly positive evaluations of passages, such as *Epitome* CVI.20–21, 'Orationes faciendas die ueneris et exortatio pulchra ad orandum, aliis posthabitis' (Prayers are to be held on Fridays, and a beautiful exhortation to prayer, other things set aside). This is by no means an isolated occurrence, and the assimilation of the words of the *Alchoran* as an aid to religious devotion is encouraged: XCVII.6–7, 'Oratio optima et brevis qua debemus uti ad deum: lege ibi' (An excellent and short prayer that we should use for God — read there), or, even, as a means of salvation for Christians, as shown by another use of the first person plural: *Epitome* LXXXI.8, 'Quid agere oporteat, ut paradisum habeamus' (What it is proper to do, so that we might gain Paradise).

Such a reading of the *Alchoran* could only come from a culture predisposed to finding value in various types of syncretic approaches to texts. A probable circle in which to situate the reading-culture that supported the copying and transmission of the text may be found in the annotations to the Dresden manuscript, which offers at one point, 'Demones humectei et aerei quales' (The humecteous and aerial demons identified).⁸⁴ Although *humecteus* is well attested in the fifteenth century, the classification of demons as such was limited to a small circle of Neoplatonists. Thus we find Marsilio Ficino writing in his commentary on the *Philebus*, 'Deus unus, daemones duo; stella scilicet sua compar et daemon aereus et humecteus' (One God, two demons; namely with its paired star and the airy demon and the humectic demon);⁸⁵ Landino in his commentary on Virgil, 'daemones, sunt aetherei, sunt aerei, sunt humectei, sunt denique terreni' (demons are of the ether, of the air, of the humus, and finally

⁸³ Note, for example, the substitution of *improbis* (evil-doer) for the more Qur'ānic *incredulus* (unbeliever): CIV.13 ff.; and the removal of future judgement from XC.3 and XC.17.

⁸⁴ Due to an error in copying, part of another work from the Cluniac corpus, the *Theologia Machumetis*, was included in the Dresden *Alchoran*; this was also the case with the *Epitome* which included these annotations in the sequence we find them in the Dresden manuscript.

⁸⁵ Ficino, *The Philebus Commentary*, ed. by Allen, p. 223.

of the earth).⁸⁶ Ficino's reading and annotating of the *Alchoran* was well known, and he lent his copy to Pico della Mirandola.⁸⁷

The *Epitome* itself, however, offers the more prosaic 'Demonēs terrestres et aerei quales' (The earthly and aerial demons identified), indicating that a process of normalization during copying has occurred. The *Epitome*'s separate circulation from the *Alchoran* would suggest that it was associated with a well-known figure, such as Ficino himself; nevertheless, the totality of the annotations cannot be associated with a single author or excerptor. Rather, we should see in them a trajectory taken, the expression of a cultural pressure, an evolving denominator of reading practices, all of which not only sought polemical refutation, but also spied out the geography of common ground between the religious traditions.

At least part of the Dresden manuscript was copied by a scribe in the circle of the Pomponius Laetus, and his *Accademia Romana degli Antiquari*, perhaps Ciriaco d'Ancona, although the hands of (most probably) Demetrius or Petreius are very similar to the high-grade humanist script of the manuscript.⁸⁸ These circles offered a highly syncretic environment in which such philosophical texts would also be read with interest.⁸⁹ Interest in these texts, however, was not limited to exceptionally heterodox circles: the polymath Iohannes Albrecht Widmanstetter would later publish the *Epitome* in 1543 as an apology for orthodoxy against reformist zeal, for the importance of Cabbalism as a means of understanding revelation (both testamental and Qur'anic), and, more generally, for philosophical dialogue with Islam.⁹⁰ The Dresden manuscript itself was thought of as a sufficiently interesting book to be presented to the biblio-

⁸⁶ Landinus, *Opera*, bk III: *In P. Virgilii Maronis Allegorias*, fol. H[6]^r.

⁸⁷ Piemontese, 'Il Corano latino di Ficino e i Corani arabi di Pico e Monchates'; Bori, *Pluralità delle vie*, p. 15; Berti, 'Un codice autografo di Marsilio Ficino ancora sconosciuto', pp. 46–47, where there are two annotations which reproduce the divisions maintained in the Dresden *Tabula*, 'Idem dicit Maumet carta X^a scil. superiori in omnibus parendum', 'Idem Maumet carta X^a'.

⁸⁸ See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. MS 3964 (where they have signed for books), reproduced in Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto. Saggio critico*, I, tav. 5, reproduced at <http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/mss_et_inc/zabughin_tav_1_05.htm> [accessed 20 June 2018]. Thanks must go for notable assistance in this matter to the *humanista verus*, David Rundle.

⁸⁹ The Academy was marked by the events produced by the plot to kill Paul II (and subsequent associated denunciations): Pittaluga, 'Callimaco Esperiente e il paganesimo'.

⁹⁰ Vuidmestadius, *Mahometis Abdallae filii theologia dialogo explicata*, fols [d4]^v–m ij^r.

phile Cardinal Domenico Grimani between 1493 and his death in 1523, by one Iacobus Ghuccius.⁹¹ Grimani donated his library of eight thousand volumes — with particular holdings in Semitic languages — to San Antonio di Castello of the Canons Regular of San Salvador in Venice; that library in turn was destroyed by fire caused by a fireworks display in 1685, and presumably the Dresden manuscript, saved from the flames, either made its way onto the international book market then or at the suppression of the convent in 1768.⁹²

Conclusion

The three moments on which I have chosen to concentrate — Spain and then France as the twelfth century progressed, northern and central Italy in the fifteenth — indicate how much geographical situation, intellectual interests, and political pressures could influence the approach taken to the Qurʾān through its most popular version in Latin. It is important to note, unfortunately, that there is no hard-and-fast response wired into European Christian DNA with regards to Islam in the way which more general — and inevitably more superficial — studies have marshalled their data. Robert and Hermann provide an excellent example of the virtuous struggle to simply make sense of a difficult and at times treacherous text, trying to understand *how* it could be and had been understood. The French Cluniacs, in turn, witness to a different type of understanding, itself an attempt to make sense within the evolving confines of a monastic and anti-heretical discourse: the Arsenal manuscript was very possibly copied out after the *débâcle* and mutual recriminations of the Second Crusade (1147–49) had hardened minds and hearts. And, finally, the Neoplatonic summation of the *Alchoran latinus* in the fervid and fecund atmosphere of mid-fifteenth-century Italian humanism was born within an intellectual *paysage* characterized by its openness and its willing engagement with philosophical and ecumenical matters even as the shadow of the Ottoman Turk was cast across the eastern Mediterranean, openness and engagement whose echoes certainly resonated with Widmanstetter, but which the grinding and increasingly uncomprehending political confrontations of the Reformation would conspire to silence.

⁹¹ Possibly the Florentine Dominican, Iacopo Gucci; see Cordero, *Savonarola*, IV, 156.

⁹² On the destruction of the monastery, see Gomanò, *Dizionario*, xxxiii, 36; Mutinelli, *Annali urbani di Venezia*, p. 572.

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BLINDED BY THE LIGHT: MEDIEVAL OPTICAL PHYSICS IN DANTE'S *PARADISO*

Krista Rascoe

Brilliantly coloured lights splash across the heavens, accompanying the music of the spheres. Dante ascends to a new plane of existence as he enters the kaleidoscopic wonder of paradise. With Beatrice as his guide, Dante marvels at the perfection of God's kingdom. More than just vivid descriptions of heaven's beauty, Dante's journey reaches a new level of artistry that merges the aesthetic with the scientific philosophy of the medieval world. From the Cantos of the *Paradiso*, spring the earliest mechanics of light wave interaction as interpreted by the Arabic philosophers from the Greek writings of Aristotle, Euclid, and Ptolemy, which by the thirteenth century through the experimentation of Roger Bacon, Witelo, Grosseteste, and John Pecham, found scientific and metaphysical acceptance across Europe. Through the pages of the *Paradiso*, the reader of the cantos not only finds illumination and reflection of Dante's understanding of medieval optics but receives insight to the level of scientific development during the medieval age. Therefore, this essay demonstrates the degree of accuracy to which Dante utilizes his knowledge of optical physics from the known sources of the thirteenth century, particularly the concepts of reflection and refraction, as he describes the wonders of paradise. In order to illuminate the level to which Dante transmits his knowledge of medieval optical physics through the pages of *Paradiso*, some background information as to the development of optics, as well as the translation, transmission, and dissemination of scientific philosophy is necessary.

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Knowledge of the Greeks' explorations into the development of the human eye focused on the notion of rays. These theories need exploration, for they lay a foundation to not only Dante's understanding of medieval optics but serve as his aesthetic model for paradise. Both Aristotle and Plato developed theories concerning the manner in which rays work to produce an image. Plato hypothesized that man created rays that originated within his eye and moved outward from the eye to illuminate an object.¹ His theory, named the 'extramission theory', received few detractors, with the exception of Aristotle, who believed that such visual rays did not exist.² Aristotle felt that while vision began with the eyes, another source produced the rays which followed geometrical principles to formulate an image.³ His doubts with respect to the extramission theory stemmed from a logical argument: namely, that if the eyes produced the rays of light, then man should be able to see in the dark.⁴ With Aristotle's challenge to Plato's extramission theory, notions of the geometrical influence of rays began to influence much of the investigations of the Greek mathematicians into vision, finding extensive mathematical development through the works of Euclid and Ptolemy. Euclid created a model that consisted of a cone-shaped array of light rays that moved from a central point of origin within the eye and illuminated objects in their path.⁵ While his model followed Plato's extramission theory, Euclid's geometrical theorems led to explanations for the apparent magnification and reduction of objects when viewed from various distances, or through different media. Since the early Greeks grounded the basis of sight into geometrical explanations, formulating theorems to explain how objects

¹ Fragenberg, 'Perspectivist Aristotelianism', p. 139.

² Fragenberg, 'Perspectivist Aristotelianism', 139. In his notes regarding Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, Fragenberg explains Aristotle's position on visual formation in detail, emphasizing that the term 'visual ray' is not used to describe the visual process of vision in this segment of the work.

³ Fragenberg, 'Perspectivist Aristotelianism', p. 141. For Aristotle, lines or rays were utilized as a tool to analytically construct the geometrical relationship between a light source and an object. Fragenberg explains that through Alhazen's translation of Aristotle's works, further validity was given to the *perspectivist's* theories of intromission which were explored in great detail by Albert the Great.

⁴ Fragenberg, 'Perspectivist Aristotelianism', p. 139.

⁵ Berryman, 'Euclid and the Skeptic', p. 182. Berryman presents Euclid's theory as an ingenious answer to the problem of visual resolution of an object at varying distances. His theorem puts forth specific geometrical functions between the eye and an object, postulating the first theories for magnification and reduction, which Dante later uses to develop his aesthetic.

appeared large at some distances, but small at other distances, the primary focus of their work centred on the concept of visual rays emanating from the eye to the object in question, giving it depth, colour, and shape. Aristotle's challenge to the extramission theory remained unanswered by the Greek mathematicians who focused on theorem development for the changes in image shape and depth.

During the ninth and tenth centuries, the works of the Greeks found renewed interest in the hands of a group of Arabic thinkers who translated the Greek texts into Latin and Arabic. These translations disseminated through the philosophic circles by means of experimentation and transmission of new findings to their peers. This group of thinkers not only tested the mathematical theories of the Greeks, but their new philosophical theories broadened to incorporate new evidence through the implementation of recent developments in mathematics. Through their work in translating these Greek texts, the Arabic thinkers expounded upon the works of Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Euclid. Alhazen, Al-kindī, and Averrōes studied the Greek texts thoroughly, discovering in the process that Aristotle's position regarding the non-existence of visual rays emanating from the eye to be true.⁶ Questioning Plato's extramission theory, the Arabic thinkers experimented with Aristotle's challenge regarding why man could not see at night if visual rays actually stemmed from the eye. Through experimentation, the thinkers developed the intromission theory of vision that focused upon light rays entering the eye to formulate an image. Furthermore, their own research found substantiation through experiments conducted later by Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great. Aquinas and Albert the Great found that rays did not come from the eye but rather luminous rays created images inside the eye.⁷ During the early thirteenth century, the theory of intromission — rays which carried images into the eye — slowly gained acceptance in academic circles. Scientific writers such as Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, Witelo, and John Pecham utilized the Latin translations of the Arabic thinkers as they

⁶ Kay, 'Dante's Empyrean', p. 41. Kay explains that both the extramission and intromission theories of light surfaced as a result of the translation and transmission of the Arabic thinkers' works on Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, Galen, and Ptolemy into the European universities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For his own hypothesis, Kay focuses on Plato's extramission theory as Dante's inspiration for the Divine Light.

⁷ Kay, 'Dante's Empyrean', p. 41. Aquinas's use of Aristotle's *De sensu* gained influence in the medieval schools. It held up the intromission theory, and was supported in the works of Averrōes and Albert the Great, works which Dante would have known as a student of the Aquinas and Albertus Magnus tradition.

worked with light and water through experimental processes to test theories regarding light behaviour that dated back to Aristotle.⁸ Using Aristotle's theories as a step toward understanding the properties of light, these writers used the Latin translations of the Arabic thinkers to guide their investigations in their study of light properties. Studies of light properties inspired these men to seek out its nature, equating their research as a means of comprehending the *divine* light.⁹ Seen as a connection between God and man, the Church supported the works of Bacon, Witelo, and Pecham, receiving copies of their findings and observations.¹⁰ With Church approval, the works of Bacon, Witelo, and Pecham were disseminated through the medieval universities. In turn, universities continued to study light, not only from the standpoint of a metaphysical instrument to return man back to God but also to quantify its properties and explain its behaviour.

Grosseteste focused upon the metaphysical properties of light with his work, *De Luce*. According to A. C. Crombie, Grosseteste defined the nature of light as possessing two forms.¹¹ Light could propagate either in straight lines and angles, influenced by reflective or refractive surfaces, or it could move and morph into a sphere from a central point source.¹² Coupled with the notion of light as a means of finding divine grace over sin, metaphysical explorations of light as a means of creating structures and carrying matter to form substance emerged. Seven hundred years before the atomic age and the emergence of par-

⁸ Rutledge, 'Dante, the Body and Light', p. 151. Rutledge traces how the translations of Alhazen of the Greeks had been widely transmitted by the twelfth century through the universities, leading to further research and experimentation by Grosseteste, Witelo, Roger Bacon, and John Pecham.

⁹ Eastwood, 'Mediaeval Empiricism', p. 308. Eastwood addresses the philosophies of Grosseteste regarding *divine* light's influence on the soul of man, which creates man's striving for illumination.

¹⁰ Lindberg, 'Lines of Influence', p. 72. This work serves as a valuable tool in establishing the order of transmission and dissemination of the medieval scientists' discoveries in optical physics. Lindberg establishes the papal court at Viterbo as the primary hub for the transmittal of optical science literature during the 1260s and 1270s to other courts and universities (see in particular p. 67).

¹¹ Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', p. 147. Crombie looks at the nature of light in Grosseteste's work, *De Luce*, wherein Grosseteste posits that light is not only self-propagating but moves in ways which can generate and build structures within spatial dimensions.

¹² Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', p. 147. According to Crombie, Bacon details the nature of light in *Opus Maius*, giving it a mathematical basis and initiating the shift toward a quantification of optics.

ticle theories, medieval scientists surmised that light held a dual nature that contained a wave and a matter carrying form. Light created by the omniscience of God could possess such qualities, and in keeping with their faith and desire to return to God, the medieval researchers developed optics into a science that brought man back to God. However, the medieval optical explorers did not focus solely upon the metaphysics of light. Bacon, building upon Grosseteste's work, applied mathematical laws to his observations creating a shift toward quantified physics of optics.¹³ While Grosseteste's work focused upon the nature of light — its formation of lines and angles that could change via reflection or refraction, as well as create forms and space through a centre or conical array — Roger Bacon sought to mathematically define light, developing laws to predict its behaviour through different media.¹⁴ Bacon's work focused upon predicting light behaviour as it moved from one medium to another. His argument revolved around how the reflection of solar rays through water droplets produced rainbows.¹⁵ As Bacon's work was transmitted into the papal court, Witelo, who worked with the Court's curator, examined and reaffirmed many of Bacon's theories with experiments of his own.¹⁶ Bacon's notion that a rainbow could be produced by focusing light through a raindrop at a forty-two degree angle, held particular fascination for Witelo.¹⁷ Witelo also discovered

¹³ Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', p. 147. Crombie states that Bacon is the first to utilize the term 'law of nature' in his research; a phrase that with this same intended meaning and purpose, would not resurface in scientific literature until the seventeenth century when it garnered frequent use. The term gives strength to Bacon's quantification of light as it follows mathematical principles of behaviour.

¹⁴ Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', p. 147.

¹⁵ Lindberg, 'Lines of Influence', 76. Lindberg demonstrates how Bacon and Pecham were acquainted with each other at Oxford and through their inclusion in the Franciscan Order. When Bacon moved to Paris to be watched by the Order, he began his work in optics. Once Pecham moved to the papal court in Viterbo, he came into contact with Bacon's research.

¹⁶ Lindberg, 'Lines of Influence', p. 73. Lindberg shows that Witelo derived the same experimental value of forty-two degrees which Bacon had presented in his optics research in Paris. This information is important in establishing the order of transmission and dissemination of scientific information in Europe. In order for Witelo to reach the same angle, to prove Bacon's theories, transmission of some of Bacon's research in Paris had to reach Padua where Witelo began his research in optics.

¹⁷ Lindberg, 'Lines of Influence', p. 73. Light, according to Bacon and Witelo, reflects off of the periphery of the water drop itself. It may be important to note that each of these scientists use the term reflection in describing light's behavior. *Perspectivists* used the term refraction. According to Gilson (see 'Dante and the Science of "Perspective"', especially 208) many

that while light would disperse into the colours of a rainbow, the arc created by the phenomena stemmed from the rays of light striking at just the periphery of the water droplets.¹⁸ Witelo decided to use other material to examine how light would respond when crossing between media. Using water, air, glass of varying degrees of thickness, Witelo derived a set of measurable angles by which light would bend.¹⁹ Gathering his results, Witelo established a table of indices of refraction and incidence for different media.²⁰ Such mathematical explanation of light behaviour in the form of a constructed chart possessed no previous precedent. Granted the scientists of the seventeenth-century Scientific Revolution would negate Witelo's work as unsound through the work of Willobrod Snell, who in 1621 discovered the mathematical relationship between angle of incidence, angle of refraction, speed of light, and media indices, but that does not diminish the importance of Witelo's efforts to quantify light behaviour. Through the experiments of Grosseteste, Bacon, and Witelo, light theory emerged with mathematical proofs for its behaviour. Furthermore, with the mathematical proofs of the medieval optical researchers, intromission theory surpassed extramission theory by 1300 as the basis for the optical formation of images within the universities of Europe.

Experimentation and analysis of light by Grosseteste, Bacon, and Witelo occurred from 1240 through the late 1270s. Their work found acceptance within university circles not only for its mathematical approach but also in part due to its support of the writings and investigations of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas.²¹ As a student of the teachings of Aquinas, Dante read the works of these men, internalizing their theories. As Kay points out, 'Dante himself clearly accepted intromission theory in his exposition of the visual process [found in his work] *Conv.*3.9.6–10'.²² Dante's *Convivio* reflects

scientists confused reflection and refraction at this time. The *perspectivists*, like Grosseteste used the term correctly. It may be due to this confusion that Dante does not completely distinguish between reflection and refraction, since Aquinas and Albert the Great do not demonstrate a clear difference between the terms in their works.

¹⁸ Lindberg, 'Lines of Influence', p. 73.

¹⁹ Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', 149. According to Crombie, Witelo's measurements of angles vary from ten degrees to eighty degrees. The tables constructed, the number of trials performed, the detailed apparatus used in the collection of this data, mark it as an extraordinary attempt at quantifying optical science in the thirteenth century.

²⁰ Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', p. 149.

²¹ Kay, 'Dante's Empyrean', p. 21.

²² Kay, 'Dante's Empyrean', p. 41. Kay notes that Dante used Aristotle's *De sensu* for his

his understanding of image formation through the receiving of light rays to produce an image within the eye.²³ However, the question remains as to the depth of Dante's knowledge of medieval optical physics when utilised to create a literary text. Throughout the *Commedia*, Dante incorporates hints to the acumen of his scientific prowess, demonstrating the acceptance and transmission of the extramission theory of light in the university as seen in *Inferno* X.130 and *Purgatorio* XXXII.10–12. However, it is really in the *Paradiso* that Dante applies the breadth of his optical understanding to produce within the poetic structures of his canzone, an ethereal plane of existence based upon the understanding of optics of his time.

As Dante, in the first canto of the *Paradiso*, begins his heavenward ascent with Beatrice, his basic knowledge of the theories surrounding reflection is revealed:

And as a second ray will issue from
the first and reascend, much like a pilgrim
who seeks his home again, so on her action,
fed by my eyes to my imagination,
my action drew, and on the sun I set
my sight more than we usually do.

[...]

I did not bear it long, but not so briefly
as not to see it sparkling round about,
like molten iron emerging from the fire;
and suddenly it seemed that day had been
added to day, as if the One who can
had graced the heavens with a second sun.

(*Paradiso* I. 49–54, 58–63)

Within this passage, Dante describes a fundamental law of reflection based upon the principle of an incident ray striking a surface perpendicularly. According to Rutledge, such phenomena intensifies the light, doubling its effect, allowing an individual to see further.²⁴ Gilson also supports the effects

source of optics for *Convivio*.

²³ Kay, 'Dante's Empyrean', p. 41.

²⁴ Rutledge, 'Dante, the Body, and Light', p. 163. Rutledge states that this divine light also possesses the power to raise Dante's soul toward heaven. According to the work conducted by Grosseteste in divine and material light, Dante's knowledge of Grosseteste's work is evidenced here as he uses it for the aesthetic purpose of lifting the soul heavenward.

of this phenomenon as a means of generating heat when he compares Dante's description of the molten heat with Albert the Great's theories surrounding the results of producing ninety-degree incident and reflected rays.²⁵ Furthermore, this light also holds the metaphysical power necessary to carry Dante's soul heavenward in keeping with Grosseteste's theories on the ability of light rays to carry matter, as well as create forms.²⁶ Thus Dante utilizes Grosseteste's work to build an aesthetic that allows him to simultaneously reveal heaven, as well as climb the ray of light back to God. However, this principle of reflection only begins to demonstrate the familiarity that Dante possesses of thirteenth century optical treatises.

Heralding *De causis proprietatum elementorum* by Albert the Great, Dante utilizes an experiment with mirrors which was disseminated through the universities by 1300. In Canto II, Beatrice describes in elaborate detail Albert the Great's experiment with three mirrors. This experiment proved that light's intensity remained constant though reflected from many surfaces. In addition, this experiment was modified to demonstrate the density of the moon as well as explain how the sun's light reflected from the moon's surface.²⁷ Questions raised by the dark shadows perceived on the moon's surface led many to believe that the moon contained sections void of substance.²⁸ Yet, through a modification of the experiment of mirrors, Albert the Great placed an object in front of the light source, proving that the sun's rays could create shadows upon itself while still reflecting the majority of the sun's light.²⁹ Beatrice reveals Dante's knowledge of this experiment as Dante marvels in the sphere of the moon at its dense nature:

To validate the first case, in the sun's
eclipse, the light would have to show through, just
as when it crosses matter that is slender.
This is not so; therefore we must consider
the latter case — if I annul that too,

²⁵ Gilson, 'Dante and the Science of "Perspective"', p. 203. Gilson translates Albert the Great's treatise *De natura locorum*, which states that a light ray that reflects itself, generates heat as proved through Albert's investigations.

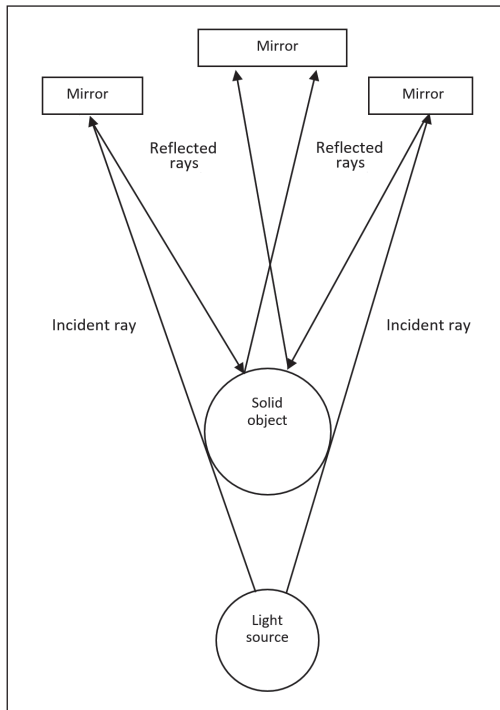
²⁶ Eastwood, 'Mediaeval Empiricism', p. 308.

²⁷ Gilson, 'Dante and the Science of "Perspective"', p. 205. Gilson, quoting a pseudo-Aquinas text, explains its use by Dante for Beatrice's explanation for the moon's solid form. Gilson says that Dante also uses the experiment outlined by Albert the Great in *De causis proprietatum elementorum* as further detail for the experiment with the mirrors.

²⁸ Gilson, 'Dante and the Science of "Perspective"', p. 205.

²⁹ Gilson, 'Dante and the Science of "Perspective"', p. 206. Gilson refers directly to Albert the Great's *De causis proprietatum elementorum*.

then your opinion surely is confuted.
 If rarity does not run through and through
 the moon, then there must be a limit where
 thickness does not allow the light to pass;
 from there, the rays of sun would be thrown back,
 just as, from glass that hides lead at its back,
 a ray of colored light returns, reflected.
 Now you will say that where a ray has been
 reflected from a section farther back,
 that ray will show itself to be more dim.
 Yet an experiment, were you to try it,
 could free you from your cavil — and the source
 of your arts' course springs from experiment.
 Taking three mirrors, place a pair of them
 at equal distance from you; set the third
 midway between those two, but farther back.
 Then, turning toward them, at your back have placed
 a light that kindles those three mirrors and
 returns to you, reflected by them all (*Paradiso* II. 79–102)



Dante's supposed doubt with regard to the solid form of the moon's surface allows Dante, through Beatrice, to demonstrate his understanding of the laws of reflection and mirrors, as they were recorded by Bacon and Albert the Great, as well as how their experiments prove the moon's surface reflective. In the figure on the left, I construct the three-mirror experiment based on Beatrice's description of Albert the Great's experiment.

Proving that the moon's surface was solid also serves to demonstrate the perfection of God's constructs. Not only did God's light create the heavens and give form to all celestial bodies, but it

also serves to prove His divine power contained within the light. Furthermore, this section of Canto II illustrates that Dante knew Albert the Great's beliefs that reflected rays possessed equal magnitude to their incident rays as seen in Canto I, a notion that gathered strength of support through the works of Bacon and Witelo. Through Snell's work in 1621, the Laws of Reflection are subjected to finite mathematical rules regulating angles of incidence and reflection, as well as the velocity of those waves. Therefore to Dante, if light rays possess equal magnitude in both their incident and reflected forms, once more they contain the power to construct the moon and hold together the fabric of the heavens.

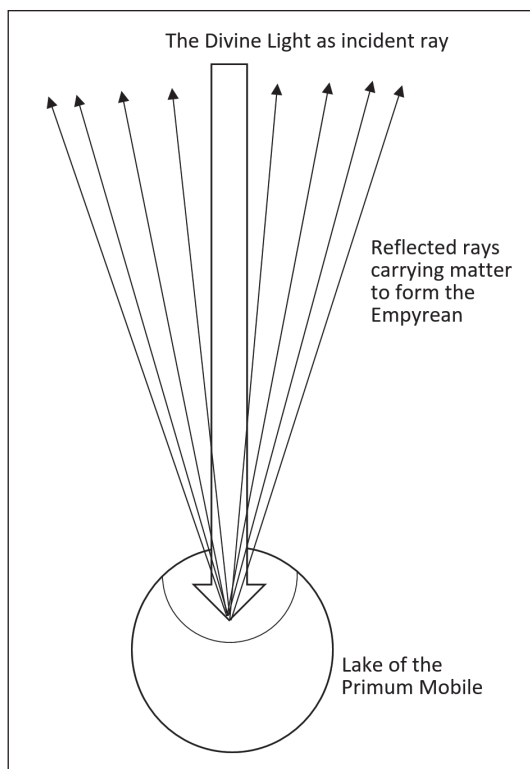
Evidence of Dante's knowledge of light's reflective properties, however, can be found in Canto XXX as he combines reflective properties discovered by Grosseteste in order to describe the interaction between the Empyrean and the Primum Mobile. Dante writes:

Above, on high, there is a light that makes
 apparent the Creator to the creature
 whose only peace lies in his seeing Him.
 The shape which that light takes as it expands
 is circular, and its circumference
 would be too great a girdle for the sun.
 All that one sees of it derives from one
 light-ray reflected from the summit of
 the Primum Mobile, which from it draws
 power and life. And as a hill is mirrored
 in waters at its base, as if to see
 itself — when rich with grass and flowers — graced,
 so in a thousand tiers that towered above
 the light, encircling it, I saw, mirrored
 all of us who have won return above.
 And if the lowest rank ingathers such
 vast light, then what must be the measure of
 this Rose where it has reached its highest leaves!

(*Paradiso*.XXX.100–17)

In this passage Dante combines all known theories of light reflection as found in medieval optics, demonstrating that he not only understood the university philosophies of medieval optics but could translate them into an aesthetic language. First, he uses Grosseteste's nature of light as the creative force for shaping matter to build the Rose amphitheatre from the intellectual light that strikes the surface of the Primum

Mobile.³⁰ This incident ray hits the convex surface of the Primum Mobile, reflecting in all directions, creating a divergence in those rays and forming a conical structure as it returns to its source, thus allowing the cone of light to build as it circles to the top of the Empyrean. In addition, the studies of convex lenses by Bacon, Witelo, and Pecham demonstrate that as light converges in the centre of a convex lens, its reflected rays produce a cone of reflected rays, lending further proof that Dante studied Bacon.³¹ Based on Dante's description of the Primum Mobile and the Empyrean in Canto XXX, the constructed image represents the behaviour of divine light



as translated by Dante from the scientific treatises of the thirteenth-century university to be transmitted through the *Paradiso*.

Combining the two major principles of light's reflective behaviour, Dante recreates the blinding joy of paradise and its heavenly forms in keeping with the metaphysical beliefs and scientific knowledge of the thirteenth century to demonstrate the omniscience and omnipotence of the Creator. Dante's exposure to the merging of science and theology occurred naturally, for in the Church, many of Grosseteste's and Bacon's theories regarding the nature of light as a cre-

³⁰ Eastwood, 'Mediaeval Empiricism', p. 308. Both Eastwood and Gilson ('Dante and the Science of "Perspective"', especially pp. 189–90) refer to the studies of light at this time as a creative force that could transmit matter, lending some of the earliest hypotheses to the dual nature of light.

³¹ Kay, 'Dante's Empyrean', p. 43. Kay describes here the divergence of light rays as they strike either a convex mirror or a diverging lens. As these rays diverge, they fan out or form a conical shape. As this is intellectual light from the eye of God, its strength does not diminish as it is reflected from the surface of the lake, giving a creative force to build the Empyrean.

ative force and means of return to heaven for the soul received acceptance and were taught.³² St Bonaventure utilized many examples from optical studies to explain the method by which the soul found its way back to God.³³ In the space of these seventeen lines of Canto XXX, Dante artistically merges the science of optical reflection with theology to create an ethereal plane that surpasses the boundaries of physical expression. *Paradiso* reflects Dante's aesthetic language of paradise that merges science with theology to provide a translation of optical metaphysics and transmit his vision of the heavens. Buried in the centre of Canto XXIII, Dante admits that the new metaphysics of optics provides the inexpressible backdrop for his creation. Dante writes:

And thus in representing Paradise,
the sacred poem has to leap across,
as does a man who finds his path cut off.
but he who thinks upon the weighty theme
and on the mortal shoulder bearing it,
will lay no blame if, burden so, I tremble:
[...]
so I saw many troops of splendors here
lit from above by burning rays of light,
but where those rays began was not in sight.

(*Paradiso* XXIII. 61–66, 82–84).

Dante recognizes that the task to represent paradise requires all of his effort due to the burden of placing a celestial, heavenly construct which defies human abilities to comprehend into words that might be understood by man. Through the metaphysical dimension of Grosseteste's and Bacon's living light, however, a source for generating an aesthetic form emerges. Blending the science and metaphysics of optics with designs initiated by the Creator builds Dante's representation of the heavens, giving it a surreal, ethereal essence that demonstrates a longing to return to God. Essentially, Dante translates the accepted theories of medieval optical laws of reflection into an aesthetic which transmits and disseminates the beauty of paradise into a form attainable by man.

³² Gilson, 'Dante and the Science of "Perspective"', p. 204. Gilson records an example of a sermon from St Bonaventure in 1270 that highlights the use of divine light to carry the soul back to God.

³³ Gilson, 'Dante and the Science of "Perspective"', p. 204. St Bonaventure's sermon, as quoted by Gilson, discusses how a perpendicular ray can carry the soul back to God as it returns to its point of incidence. Aside from transmission of the works of Bacon, Witelo, Pecham, and Grosseteste to the universities, passages such as this demonstrate dissemination of the scientific philosophers' works to the public through sermons.

Dante's knowledge of optics reaches beyond the concepts of reflection to encompass refraction, as well. In Canto V of the *Paradiso*, Dante describes the halo effect that bends the sun's rays as it passes through a denser medium such as water. He writes:

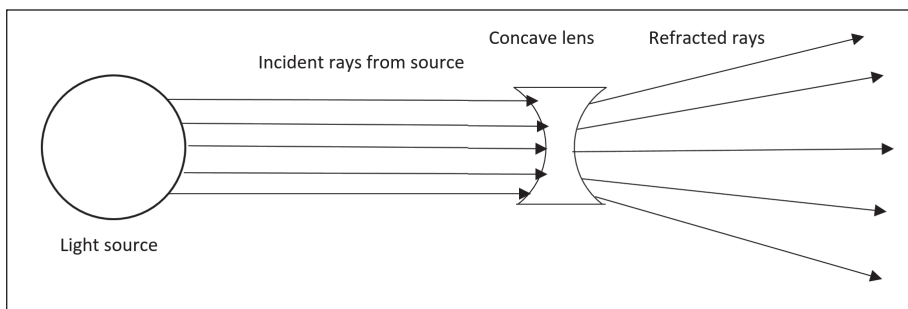
Just as the sun, when heat has worn away
thick mists that moderate its rays, conceals
itself from sight through excess of light,
so did that holy form, through excess gladness,
conceal himself from me within his rays;
and so concealed, concealed, he answered me
even as the next canto is to sing.
(*Paradiso* V.133–39)

Using Bacon as his source, Witelo conducted experiments to measure the angles at which light bends as it passes between different mediums.³⁴ While exposing glass in the shape of water droplets to light, Witelo found that the periphery of the droplets diffused light in a prismatic halo similar to the sun's rays burning through mist.³⁵ Furthermore, Witelo found that light moving through a dense material bends toward the normal.³⁶ By creating the soul's concealment in the mist in this canto, as well as adding to the mystery of the heavens through the use of a shroud of matter, Dante demonstrates knowledge of Witelo's work in the refractive nature of light as it crosses a boundary into a denser medium from air. Just as light experiences divergence as it passes through a concave lens, light also spreads apart as it crosses any concave surface of a water droplet. When light strikes the convex portions of the same droplet, the rays converge. In addition to the change in medium, the convex and concave structures of water droplets facilitate the bending of light to create hazy images due to the substantial change in the velocity of the light. In the image on the following page, I have drawn the typical paths of light rays as they cross from a less dense medium like air, into a denser, as well as a curved medium of glass. The diverging lens also serves to represent light refraction across the concave portions of a water droplet.

³⁴ Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', p. 149. Witelo, Pecham, and Grosseteste examined light refraction in depth. Witelo measured angles of light as it moved from one medium to another, especially movement from air to water and air to glass.

³⁵ Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', p. 150. Witelo's focus centred on rainbow formation. Through experimentation, he discovered the prismatic effect of light through water droplets by means of refraction and internal reflection. These phenomena explained the specific order of light refraction, as well as the 'halo' or hazy appearance of objects in mist.

³⁶ Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', p. 150.



As light passes a boundary, Bacon discovered that visible light breaks down into the colours of a rainbow. Depending upon the material through which the light passed, Bacon reasoned that red colours showed more intensely than the blue.³⁷ While work in the colour spectrum by Sir Isaac Newton a few centuries later corrected some of the misconceptions, or flukes in the experimentation of Bacon and Witelo, through Newton's work with prisms, the findings of medieval optical researchers demonstrated that the reflection and refraction of light as it passed through transparent materials caused reds to emerge more brilliantly than blues, substantiating Bacon's work. Yet the first analysis of the colour spectrum based on theories of divine light serves Dante's aesthetic. Dante describes this phenomenon of refraction in Canto XIX. He writes:

The handsome image those united souls,
happy within their blessedness, were shaping,
appeared before me now with open wings.
each soul seemed like a ruby — one in which
a ray of sun burned so, that in my eyes,
it was the total sun that seemed reflected.

(*Paradiso* XIX.1–6)

This equation of the ruby colour of the soul with reflection of the sun's rays further proves that Dante familiarized himself with the works of Bacon, Witelo,

³⁷ Crombie, 'Quantification in Medieval Physics', p. 148. Using Averröes's translations of Aristotle's texts and subsequent trials of their own, Bacon and Witelo concluded that colour was a mixture of light and dark. They found increasing indices of light refraction by light from the red to the blue. The apparent darkening of the spectrum they attributed to the encroachment of darkness into the light. Reds, therefore, appeared with more intensity than the blues. Looking at a radiation curve today, which plots the brightness of visible light against its frequency, shows that the blue and violet portions are not as intense as the red portion. Within the heavens, no darkness would be present. Therefore, Dante utilized this theory of colour to create the brilliance of the Trinity.

and Grosseteste. During the thirteenth century, a slow movement toward the quantification of optics began with the works of Bacon and Grosseteste. Bacon's findings, in particular, were carried to the papal court in Viterbo, which transmitted optical literature to the universities of medieval Europe.³⁸ By the fourteenth century, the earliest mathematical derivatives for light behaviour permeated Oxford and Paris.³⁹ Evoking the refraction theories of these medieval scientists allowed Dante to couple mesmerising colourful forms to the blinding light of paradise.

Dante's knowledge of refraction and reflective colour creation reaches its apex in Canto XXXIII as he describes the exalted Light of God in the form of the three rings:

In the deep and bright
essence of that exalted Light, three circles
appeared to me; they had three different colors,
but all of them were of the same dimension;
one circle seemed reflected by the second,
as rainbow is by rainbow, and the third
seemed fire breathed equally by those two circles.

(*Paradiso* XXXIII.114–20)

Disseminating these known theories of refraction and reflection to describe the glory of the Holy Trinity, Dante's poetics translates the scientific work of Bacon and Witelo into an aesthetic worthy of God. Through their separate experiments, Bacon and Witelo analysed the refractive properties of light as it passed through multiple curved interfaces, presenting prismatic effects of a rainbow.⁴⁰ The third circle created by Dante flashes red like fire, due to a by-product of the dispersion of the visible light spectrum across two arcs, or two convex surfaces.⁴¹ The result produces a Trinity of brilliance due the refraction of white light through two circles leading the fiery nature of the Holy Spirit to reflect in the red portion of the visible light spectrum. Dante's use of this analogy only serves to reaffirm his complete knowledge of the experiments and developments of optical physics through the thirteenth century. I have drawn this image from a side view perspective of three lenses responding to the refrac-

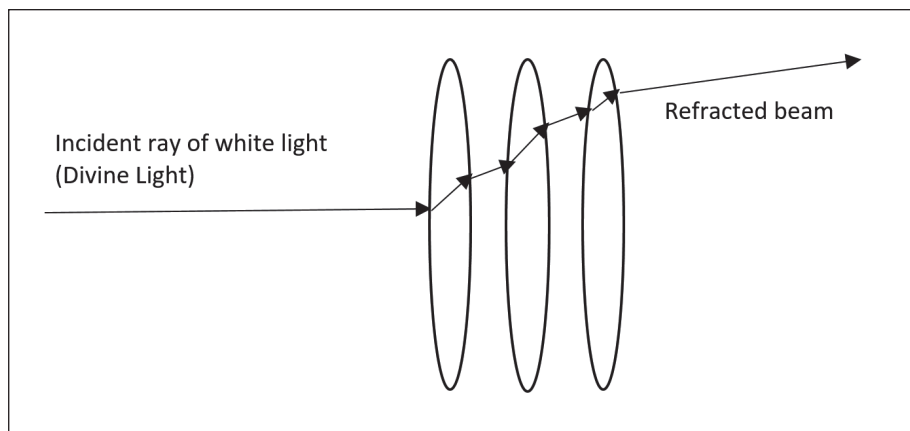
³⁸ Lindberg, 'Lines of Influence', p. 67.

³⁹ Lindberg, 'Lines of Influence', p. 67.

⁴⁰ Lindberg, 'Lines of Influence', p. 148.

⁴¹ Lindberg, 'Lines of Influence', p. 148.

tion of a singular ray of light penetrating each surface. If viewed from the front, the intensity of the red portion of the spectrum would blaze forth and produce the 'fire' of the Holy Trinity described by Dante.



Concepts surrounding optics during the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century reached a level that seems basic in the modern age. However, optics progressed rapidly from the simple notion of rays and image formation based on geometric principles set forth by the ancient Greeks and Arabic Thinkers of the ninth and tenth centuries, to a quantitative science by Dante's writing of the *Commedia*. What emerges from Dante's coupling of medieval optics with aesthetic poetic form could be argued as the earliest form of science fiction writing. Within the constructs of science fiction, an author utilizes known scientific principles of the period, as well as hypothesises as to how those theories might advance to suit the work created. Dante blends science and theology to develop his poetic form. Granted the term 'science fiction' conjures notions that the work must be prose; yet Dante, in his own words with regard to his need to commit all he witnesses to paper, states, 'My pen leaps over it; I do not write: / our fantasy and, all the more so, speech / are far too gross for painting folds so deep,' (*Paradiso* XXIV.25–27). Through the course of lamenting his desire to record all he sees in some form that can express the inexpressible, Dante reveals his fictional form, based on science. Kay points out in the *Convivio*, Dante utilized known science to calculate the diameter of the Earth and sun based on Alfaganus's *De scientia astrorum*.⁴² While the genre of science

⁴² Kay, 'Dante's Empyrean', p. 43. Kay references *Convivio* 2.5.16, 2.13.11, and 3.5.9 for the measurements.

fiction follows centuries after Dante's *Commedia*, Dante's own admission shows he intended the blend of science with literature as a means to create an ethereal plane of existence. Such a plane, which defies cognitive expression, finds aesthetic revelation through emerging ideals of optical theory — a theory that presumably leads man back to God.

Although Bacon, Grosseteste, Witelo, and Pecham found themselves limited by the equipment and mathematical theorems of their age, their work laid the foundations of optical physics that experienced quantitative and qualitative advancements during the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century. Men such as Willobrod Snell and Sir Isaac Newton expounded upon the mathematical proofs set forth by Bacon, Witelo, and Pecham, incorporating newly developed advanced theorems of trigonometry and calculus to derive a more accurate means of quantifying optics. However, the advancements made by Newton and Snell would have progressed slowly without the work compiled during the thirteenth century. Acquiescence by the Church during the thirteenth century toward discovering the secrets of light and its role in leading man back to God, catalyzed the progress of not only optical physics, but its dissemination into the universities where Dante received this knowledge. Acceptance of the thirteenth century scientific philosophies by the Church propelled men to desire exploration of light as a means of spiritual return to God. Within this merge of scientific study and metaphysical inquiry in optics, Dante found the perfect instrument with which to illuminate the heavens and shed light onto man's understanding of paradise. The accepted scientific truths of Dante's life emerge from the pages of the *Paradiso*, demonstrating not only the depths of Dante's scientific prowess but his aesthetic genius to incorporate them into his formulation of glory of heaven.

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FROM ENGLAND TO IBERIA: THE TRANSMISSION OF MARGINAL ELEMENTS IN THE IBERIAN TRANSLATIONS OF GOWER'S *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*

Tamara Pérez-Fernández*

Introduction

The *Confessio amantis* was the first English work ever translated into another European language. As such, it was a historical landmark in English culture and a defining moment for Portuguese and Castilian readers, who had not, until then, imported any literary products from England. However, the Iberian Peninsula of the fifteenth century was a fertile ground in which texts from classical antiquity and from Oriental sources co-existed and mingled with contemporary European works. The translation of Gower's *Confessio amantis* can be analysed against the backdrop of a wider effort to bring foreign culture and knowledge into the different Iberian kingdoms in the late Middle Ages.

In his analysis of the new reading public of Christine de Pizane's *Livre des trois vertu* through the study of *Espelho de Cristina*, its Portuguese rendition, Tobias Brandenberger raises a crucial question for the purposes of this paper:

What conclusions about a text's audience can we infer through a translation? And, more exactly: If it is possible to propose an ideal audience for the text and describe

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it, up to what point can the scholar detect changes in this public through the analysis of a translation and the modifications that it inflicts on the base text?¹

In this paper I attempt to draw a similar enquiry but focusing on the *Confessio*'s Latin marginal elements, which underwent a double process of translation that can be framed within reasonably similar parameters: Is it possible to study the changes in the target audience through the analysis of the transmission and translation of marginal elements? Brandenberger concluded that a text's target audience may differ from the translation's audience, but not entirely.² Were the Iberian audiences of the *Confessio amantis* dissimilar from the English ones?

Translation in the Late Medieval Iberian Peninsula

From the end of the fourteenth century onwards, translators from all the Peninsular kingdoms worked intently in the vernacular rendition of foreign works:³ Seneca, Livy, Plutarch, Aristotle, Boethius, and others, including Arabic classical authors, were translated and disseminated in the Iberian Peninsula. The texts that were popular in the late Middle Ages were collections of exemplary stories, and therefore lay libraries in the Peninsula were populated by books which combined 'edification and recreation, [...] more or less represented by the contemporary terms "enxemplos" and "consolación"'.⁴ Gower's *Confessio amantis* met all of the requisites, then, to claim a suitable place in any private library of the day.

The process of translation in Iberian contexts was usually quite convoluted; a Greek original could be rendered into Latin, then into Italian, Catalan, and finally into Castilian. This multiplicity of translations was necessary in a land divided into different kingdoms whose vernacular languages, though Roman in origin, differed enough to make difficult the understanding of works written in

¹ The original quotation in Spanish is as follows: '¿qué conclusiones acerca del público de un texto permite una traducción? Y, más exactamente: si es posible postular un público ideal para un texto y describirlo, ¿hasta qué punto se pueden detectar cambios en este público, a través del análisis de una traducción y, muy en concreto, a raíz de las modificaciones a las que ésta somete su texto base?'; Brandenberger, 'Una traducción bajomedieval y su público', p. 75. Translations of quotations originally in Spanish are my own.

² Brandenberger, 'Una traducción bajomedieval y su público', p. 90.

³ In Castile, this example of incipient humanism saw its greatest flourishing during the reign of Juan II, son of Philippa of Lancaster, who reigned from 1406 to 1454; see Lawrance, 'The Spread of Lay Literacy', pp. 81, 83.

⁴ Lawrance, 'The Spread of Lay Literacy', p. 88.

other vernacular languages.⁵ Even the Portuguese court, 'with a notable degree of bilingualism in the fifteenth century, tended to demand translations of classical Latin texts, even though they were already available in Castilian'.⁶

Patrons and Translators

When describing the panorama of translation in the kingdom of Castile in the late Middle Ages, Carlos Alvar asserts that 'there are no intellectuals independent from power'.⁷ In point of fact, the fifteenth century saw a shift in the demand for translations, which began to be made at the request of prominent members of the Iberian nobility.⁸ Being outside the religious and university circles, these noblemen were unable to read Greek, Latin, Arabic, or other contemporary vernacular languages,⁹ and thus could not profit from the original sources of knowledge. As a result of this, they commissioned translations into their native languages — Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, Valencian, or Portuguese — that would place classical culture and contemporary knowledge at their hands.

In general, the commissioners or patrons, usually members of the highest nobility, chose the books they wanted translated according to their own political and cultural interests.¹⁰ As a result, there were many compilations of tales for the moral and political education of princes and works on military tactics that were rendered into one or more Iberian languages. Many of these texts, especially the classics, had been the subject of an extensive work of Latin commentary by medieval scholars, which had gradually accumulated and which had been added in the margins of the manuscripts containing canonical texts. When they reached late medieval lay libraries, the academic Latin glosses accrued in the margins had become 'explanatory excrescences',¹¹ which had deviated from their original purpose, hindering the reading experience of the new, unscholarly audiences.

⁵ Alvar, *Traducciones y traductores*, p. 243.

⁶ 'La corte portuguesa, en donde era notorio un sustancial grado de bilingüismo en el siglo XV, propendía también a insistir a veces en poseer traducciones al portugués de textos clásicos latinos, a pesar de que éstos fuesen ya asequibles en castellano'; Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la Península Ibérica*, p. 9.

⁷ 'No hay intelectuales independientes del poder' (Alvar, *Traducciones y traductores*, p. 37).

⁸ Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la Península Ibérica*, p. 16.

⁹ Alvar, *Traducciones y traductores*, p. 43.

¹⁰ Alvar, *Traducciones y traductores*, p. 37.

¹¹ Alvar, *Traducciones y traductores*, p. 30.

This type of marginal commentary only exacerbated the paradoxical situation that involved translators and patrons. Russell has drawn attention to the fact that the translators, who often wrote prologues dedicating their work to their sponsors, had to reconcile the expectations raised by their powerful patrons — who, as the exemplary humanist figures they aimed to be, should have been able to read Latin — and the fact that those same patrons had to rely on vernacular translations.¹² Unsurprisingly, some customers rebelled against the inclusion of scholarly glosses in the translation they requested; Lawrance puts forward the case of a late fourteenth century patron who specifically asked for Nicolas Trivet's *marginalia* to be excised from his translation of Boethius;¹³ while Antoni Canals, a Dominican friar from Catalonia who translated Valerius Maximus at the end of the fourteenth century, decided to omit the abundant scholarly glosses because they overwhelmed the core text.¹⁴

The examples cited above show how new Iberian audiences could exert considerable influence over how foreign works were translated, and also over what to translate, adapting the translations to their needs and tastes. Their contemporary English counterparts could exert a similar influence over the copies they commissioned; however, in the case of the *Confessio amantis*, there seems to have been a different approach to the material, which resulted in a marked contrast between the English and Iberian manuscripts.

Gower's *Confessio amantis* is, in its English form, a bilingual work where the English poem shares protagonism with a large number of Latin verses and paratexts such as speech markers, prose rubrics, and glosses. The relative evenness of their appearance in the majority of the forty-nine surviving manuscripts containing the English *Confessio* has been taken as a sign of Gower's involvement with the production of the standard layout of the poem, in which the English text was laid out in two columns and the Latin apparatus was copied in red in the margins or in the text column.¹⁵

The remarkably regular presence of Latin in the manuscripts of the *Confessio* was, nonetheless, at odds with the ability of its intended audience to read Latin; Coleman argues that, barring noblemen specifically prepared for the Church,

¹² Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la Península Ibérica*, p. 16.

¹³ Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la Península Ibérica*, pp. 81–82. However, Margherita Morreale, in the prologue to her edition of Enrique de Villena's *Los doze trabajos de Hércules*, asserts that Trivet's glosses were 'succint'; Villena, *Los doze trabajos*, p. xxviii.

¹⁴ Avenzoa, 'Antoni Canals', p. 47.

¹⁵ Pearsall, 'The Manuscripts and Illustrations of Gower's Works', p. 80.

Gower's potential readers could have encountered problems understanding Latin properly.¹⁶ Members of the gentry and civil servants, the *Confessio's* secondary readership according to Kate Harris,¹⁷ would also have had difficulties understanding the profuse *marginalia*.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the only manuscript to substitute the Latin apparatus for an English translation is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 35, a paper manuscript produced roughly between 1400 and 1425.¹⁹ Why, then, was Latin retained in the majority of the English manuscripts of the poem? After all, in England 'the expectation that a translator's task should encompass rendering commentary and allegoresis was well established by the opening of the fifteenth century, and such enriched translation was perceived as support for the transmission of cultural and political authority'.²⁰

The reason for the preservation or retention of Latin may be twofold; on the one hand, London's book market at the end of the fourteenth century popularized certain layouts of Chaucer's and Gower's works, which were extremely successful at the time.²¹ Gower's alleged familiarity with book production could have set the rule for the copy of his text preventing scribes and stationers from straying his intended format. On the other hand, is the nature of the poem itself. Gower's *Confessio amantis* is, according to Malte Urban,

a poem that not only presents us with two figures engaged in a confessional dialogue, but also focuses our attention on the ways in which this confessional dialogue is in constant contact with texts that have been written over the course of human history.²²

Those texts emerge in the margins of the *Confessio* in the form of Latin *marginalia*, which can be seen as the sparks resultant from the brushes between the classics and Gower's late medieval interpretation and use. The margins become, thus, the ground for a dialectic battle in which Gower makes use of the Classics

¹⁶ Coleman, 'Lay Readers and Hard Latin', pp. 212–13.

¹⁷ Harris, 'Ownership and Readership'.

¹⁸ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 224–52, discusses the literacy of the laity, arguing that it may have developed from their need to use Latin in legal transactions. However, Gower's use of Latin in the marginal apparatus is usually convoluted, which might have prevented the lay readers from fully understanding it.

¹⁹ See 'Late Medieval English Scribes' (University of York, 2011) <www.medievalscribes.com> [accessed 30 May 2017].

²⁰ Kamath, 'Periphery and Purpose', pp. 31–32.

²¹ Doyle, 'English Books In and Out of Court'.

²² Urban, 'Cracks and Fissures', p. 161.

auctoritas to furnish his own sophisticated ‘auto-exegesis’.²³ Gower’s self commentary on the text, unusual in the Middle Ages,²⁴ is carried out in the Latin verses, rubrics, and glosses that accompany the poem providing the reader with a guide to the text and the author with a very fitting aura of *auctoritas*.²⁵

Moving beyond the idea of classical *auctoritas*, Latin itself is taken as an *exemplum* in the *Confessio*, a skill that should be acquired by Gower’s readers.²⁶ Moreover, the multiplicity of roles played by Gower in the *Confessio* — author, compiler, commentator, and even scriptor — is articulated only within the frame of the Latin apparatus and its back and forth relationship with the English text.²⁷ This dynamic is so meaningful that it was kept with considerable uniformity throughout the forty-nine English manuscripts of the *Confessio*; it also constitutes the main point of difference between Gower’s poem and other glossed texts being disseminated in the Peninsula in the late Middle Ages. What could pass as meddling on the part of scholars in works such as Boethius’s *Consolatio philosophiae* and consequently dismissed was, in the case of Gower’s *Confessio*, authorial in origin, and as such the impact of the loss in the Iberian manuscripts was greater.

The Iberian Manuscripts of the Confessio

Madrid, Real Biblioteca, MS II–3088 contains the *Livro do amante*, Portuguese translation of Gower’s *Confessio amantis*. It is an elegant but unpretentious codex, neat but not luxurious, and commissioned, according to its colophon, by Fernando de Castro the Young; it was copied in 1430 in the city of Ceuta by the scribe Joham Barroso. It opens with a table of contents, written in Castilian, added to the text some years after the volume was made.²⁸

Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS g–II–19 dates from the last decades of the fifteenth century; a much less tidy manuscript, it contains the *Confisyon del amante*, the unique Castilian ren-

²³ Echard, ‘Pre-Texts’, p. 273.

²⁴ Yeager, ‘English, Latin, and the Text as “Other”’, p. 55.

²⁵ Batchelor, ‘Unjustified Margins’, p. 7. For an in-depth discussion of these elements, see Emerson, ‘Reading Gower in a Manuscript Culture’; Echard, ‘Glossing Gower’; Wetherbee, ‘Latin Structure and Vernacular Space’.

²⁶ Ma, ‘Vernacular *Accessus*’, p. 21.

²⁷ Pérez-Fernández, ‘The Margins in the Iberian Manuscripts of John Gower’s *Confessio amantis*’, p. 41.

²⁸ Herrero, Pérez-Fernández, and Gutiérrez, ‘Castilian Handwriting’ p. 22.

dition of the poem that has been preserved. It was written by a single scribe, but it is a composite of two different manuscripts. The eight central quires were in origin part of another codex, and, for reasons unknown, they were later inserted in their current position.²⁹ This manuscript opens with a table of contents written in Castilian, with many corrections regarding the position of the chapters in the pages that add to the overall unkempt look of the codex. It also includes a brief preface where the scribe gives some details about the translators of both the Portuguese version (Robert Payn) and the Castilian one (Juan de Cuenca).

None of the extant Iberian manuscripts is a holograph: 'Roberto Payn', as he is referred to in the Castilian preface, was a canon in the city of Lisbon and probably translated the *Confessio* 'some time after 1402'.³⁰ Regarding the Castilian codex, while the manuscript dates from the end of the fifteenth century, Juan de Cuenca could have translated the *Livro do amante* into Castilian much earlier in the century.³¹

We have no definite evidence about the origin of the *Confessio*'s Iberian translations, but most scholars suggest that the original English copy went to the Peninsula with Philippa and Catherine of Lancaster when, in 1386, they sailed from England to marry João I of Portugal and Enrique III of Castile respectively.³² While the name of the person who commissioned the Portuguese translation is unknown, the fact remains that Dom Duarte, Philippa's son, was greatly influenced by the *Confessio* — he mentioned the *Livro do amante* in his own *Leal conselheiro*. Nonetheless, it is unknown whether he read the *Confessio* in English or made use of the brand new *Livro do amante*. The Castilian translation of the *Confessio* was probably the result of the close relationship between the houses of Avis and Trastámara, and it would have fitted in the context of the continuous and mutual cultural exchanges between the two countries.³³ Faccon hypothesizes that Juan de Cuenca could have been a secular priest working in the city of Huete, a place with strong links with Catherine of Lancaster, mentioned in the preface as the place where the translation took place.³⁴

²⁹ Herrero, Pérez-Fernández, and Gutiérrez, 'Castilian Handwriting', p. 27.

³⁰ Russell, 'Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca', p. 32.

³¹ Santano Moreno, 'El prólogo de *Confisyon del amante*'; Faccon, *Fortuna de la 'Confessio amantis'*.

³² Russell, 'Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca'; Santano Moreno, 'El prólogo de *Confisyon del amante*'.

³³ Buescu, 'Aspectos do bilinguismo português-castelhano na época moderna'; Moreira, 'Notas sobre a convivência de línguas em Portugal'.

³⁴ Faccon, *Fortuna de la 'Confessio amantis'*.

Both the *Livro* and the *Confysyon* belong in what Gower's scholars have called the first recension of the poem. They feature the *Confessio's* original dedication to Richard II (which disappeared in the second and third recensions, more prominently dedicated to Henry IV) and the acknowledgement to Chaucer in Book VIII (only in first recension manuscripts). Before the discovery of the Portuguese codex in 1995, Hamm already highlighted the surprising faithfulness that the Castilian *Confysyon* kept regarding the English *Confessio*, declaring that 'vast stretches of the translation follow the original in [a] doggedly literal fashion'.³⁵ Considering that MS II-3088 was neither the direct archetype used to copy the Castilian manuscript nor Robert Payn's holograph, it is indeed remarkable that the *Confysyon* and the *Livro do amante* are so similar among themselves and as compared with the *Confessio*. This fact also evinces the existence of more manuscripts circulating at the time in Portugal and Castile and attests Gower's popularity outside England.

Notwithstanding the relative faithfulness to the original text, Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca did introduce some changes in the Iberian translations.³⁶ Among the alterations made to the original English text, the treatment of the Latin apparatus that accompanied the *Confessio* is perhaps the most intriguing. In the *Livro do amante* and the *Confysyon*, Latin elements are reduced to the minimum, whether omitted (in the case of the Latin verses) or translated into the vernacular (the rubrics). Other types of marginal annotation were treated ambiguously, with some explanatory and source glosses surviving within the text column or absorbed by the text while the majority were cut.

The limited information about the translators and the scribes who copied the Iberian manuscripts does not allow us to venture anything more than speculations about who was responsible for the breaking of the Latin frame and the ensuing change in the nature of the text. There are several possible scenarios that could explain the loss of the Latin verses and some of the glosses. The first involves an English manuscript already lacking the verses and most reading aids. In this case, neither Robert Payn nor Juan de Cuenca could be held responsible for the absence of that particular kind of *marginalia*, and the new audience could have born no influence over it. While being in possession of a member of English and Portuguese royalty could suggest that the original English exemplar

³⁵ Hamm, 'A Critical Evaluation of the *Confysion del Amante*', 92.

³⁶ Hamm, 'A Critical Evaluation of the *Confysion del Amante*', 92.

was of the highest textual quality, it is important to remember that sometimes 'the text was of a lesser quality than the patron who had bought it expected'.³⁷

Another possible scenario pictures Robert Payn as the architect of the changes in the *dispositio*, whether because he considered the verses and most of the glosses irrelevant to the story or for his own inability to translate Gower's admittedly obscure Latin. Iberian translators in the late Middle Ages felt free to adapt the *dispositio* of a work in order to better suit their patrons' needs.³⁸ While, in the case of the *Confessio amantis*, this *dispositio* was generally respected in the English extant manuscripts, probably because of Gower's proximity to London's book market, the Iberian Peninsula was far from Gower's sphere of influence, and thus translators and scribes could have been oblivious as to his intended plan. It is probable that Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca ignored that the marginal apparatus they were handling came from the author himself and not from an extraneous glossator, and thus felt entitled to alter it: '[Robert Payn] can improve, on occasion, Gower's quotations from other sources [...] or correct an erroneous reference. He made Gower's book fully intelligible to his Peninsular readers.'³⁹ Payn did not, however, contribute with glosses of his own to highlight his contributions, nor did Juan de Cuenca, for that matter,⁴⁰ even though it was relatively common at that time to point out the translator's contributions with marginal annotations.⁴¹

Finally, the last hypothetical scenario places scribes as decision-makers. Joham Barroso, the scribe in charge of copying the *Livro*, was careful to insert the rubrics and occasional source and quotation glosses in the text column and in red, so as to underline the fact that they were extra-textual elements. The anonymous scribe of the Castilian manuscript also included them in the text column but did not use red, and sometimes he tried to blend them with the text, in particular the source and quotation glosses. Those differences could be explained on account of the circumstances of the production of each particular codex, but due to the striking overall similarities between both manuscripts — even with the intervening years, scribes, and exemplars — it is doubtful that the scribes willingly departed to such an extent from the original English archetype.

³⁷ Russell, *Traducciones y traductores*, p. 10: 'El texto era de menor calidad de la que suponía el mecenas que lo había adquirido.'

³⁸ Lawrance, 'The Spread of Lay Literacy', p. 82.

³⁹ Russell, 'Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca', p. 32.

⁴⁰ Hamm, 'A Critical Evaluation of the *Confysion del Amante*'.

⁴¹ Kamath, 'Periphery and Purpose', p. 34.

Arguably, one of the most surprising characteristics of the Latin prose rubrics and the scarce explanatory and source and quotation glosses contained in the Iberian renditions of the *Confessio* is that they appear as entries in the tables of contents of the Peninsular manuscripts. The tables list the topics in the text as if they were different chapters, and the entries in the indexes coincide with the rubrics inserted later in the text. However, the inclusion of material that did not provide a summary of the contents — such as source and quotation glosses — and incorrect cross-references suggest a certain oblique approach on the part of the scribes towards both the *marginalia* and the indexes that could give us some clues about the manuscripts' intended audience.

Source and Quotation Glosses and the Iberian Tables of Contents

With the questions that opened the present article in mind, I now intend to focus on the transfer of the Latin *marginalia* and the implications regarding the Iberian readership. More specifically, I will consider how the tables of contents in the Portuguese and Castilian manuscripts subtly invoke a new readership. With the analysis of the indices in both Iberian manuscripts and the way in which scribes handled them I argue that, besides having their patrons' interests as a motivation for their handling of text and *marginalia*, translators and scribes meddled with the text subjectively and according to their own mastery of Latin, mythology, and history.

Talking about the tables of contents in the English manuscripts of the *Confessio amantis*, Echard states the following:

the relative rarity of such guides in English vernacular manuscripts makes these tables particularly interesting. Produced at or near the point of production, the tables illustrate how their makers — some of them at least the commercial producers of the poem — thought the text might be used [...] the tables provide a particularly clear index of readings of the *Confessio* in the first centuries following its creation.⁴²

The index marking the chapters and books in the *Livro do amante* is written in Castilian, probably by someone who was fluent in Portuguese and Castilian but who wrote in a Portuguese bastard gothic script that dates from around 1440. It was added to the Portuguese codex some time after its production, perhaps when the manuscript was already in Castilian hands.⁴³ The table of

⁴² Echard, 'Pre-Texts', p. 271.

⁴³ Herrero, Pérez-Fernández, and Gutiérrez, 'Castilian Handwriting', p. 22.

contents in the Castilian manuscript is very similar, written by the scribe at the same time as the rest of the codex. It provides an attempt at pagination that is, however, faulty and misleading.⁴⁴

The general characteristics of both tables are reminiscent of the one in MS Ashmole 35, and they point towards a reader-friendly edition that would have catered to 'a reader who simply used the text to get to various stories'.⁴⁵ For the most part, the Castilian index falls squarely into this category, as it follows the summary rubrics to provide a list of the stories found within the text. Some source and quotation glosses in Book VII are listed in the index; However, when the table of contents relates to the contents in the eight quires inserted in the middle of the codex, all references to classical authors disappear. The index in the Portuguese codex, while based on the apparatus of rubrics, also includes the sparse source and quotations that survived the transfer from the English original archetype, although translated into Castilian.

Usually, the original Latin rubrics were cut, reshaped, and translated in the Iberian manuscripts. Sometimes, when the cultural or historical allusions in the prose commentaries were unknown to the Iberian translators/scribes, the resultant summary departed significantly from the original:

Hic ponit Confessor exemplum contra illos qui nimio furore accensi vindictam Ire sue vltra quam decet consequi affectant. Et narrat qualiter Athemas et Demephon Reges, cum ipsi de bello Troiano ad propria remeassent et a suis ibidem pacifice recepti non fuissent, congregato aliunde pugnatorum exercitu, regiones suas non solum incendio vastare set et omnes in eisdem habitantes a minimo vsque ad maiorem in perpetuam vindicte memoriam gladio interficere feruore iracundie proposuerunt. Set Rex Nestor, qui senex et sapiens fuit, ex paciencia tractatus inter ipsos Reges et eorum Regna inita pace et concordia huiusmodi impetuositatem micus pacificauit.

(Here the Confessor presents an instructive example against those who, inflamed by excessive fury, desire to inflict the punishment of their wrath beyond what is appropriate. And he tells how Kings Athemas and Demephon, having returned from the Trojan war to their own people and having not been received peacefully there by their own populace, collected from elsewhere an army and, in a frenzy of anger, proposed not only to devastate their own regions but also to put to the sword everyone living in them, from the least to the most important, as a permanent memorial to their revenge. But King Nestor, who was old and wise, allowed

⁴⁴ Santano Moreno, 'El prólogo de *Confisyon del amante*', p. 365.

⁴⁵ Echard, 'Pre-Texts', 274.

patience to lead him and mildly pacified this aggressiveness, initiating a peace and a treaty between the kings and their kingdoms.)⁴⁶

The rubric above was significantly reduced in the Iberian indexes, and the names of the kings mistaken, especially in the Castilian example:

Aqui pone el Confessor contra aquellos que, allende razon, quieren vengar su saña, e cuenta por enxenplo una estoria del rey Atemas e del rey de Mofon.

(Here the Confessor writes against those who, beyond reason, want to avenge their rage, and as an example tells a story about king Athemas and the king of Mofon.)⁴⁷

Contra aquellos que, allende de razón, quieren vengar su saña, e trahe por enxenplo una estoria del rey de Atenas e de Monfón, a los quales se revelaron sus tierras, e, por consejo de un cavallero suyo, las tornaron a recobrar sin peligro ni pérdida alguna.

(Against those who, beyond reason, want to avenge their rage, and brings as an example a story about the king of Athens and of Mofon, whose lands rebelled and who, with the advice of one of their knights, recovered them without danger or loss.)⁴⁸

Source and quotation *marginalia* in the Iberian indexes are part of Books v and vii; no similar glosses are found outside their boundaries. The first of these entries in the Portuguese table of contents is the following: ‘Nota segun dize gregorio o nescessario pecado, o bien aventurada culpa que tal e tan grande meresciste ay [*sic*] rredemptor meresciste aver’ (Note according to Gregory O necessary sin, O blessed guilt which so great redeemer you deserved to have).⁴⁹ It is a fairly faithful translation of the marginal annotation in MS Fairfax 3 — ‘Gregorius. O necessarium Ade peccatum! O felix culpa, que talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem!’ (Gregory: O necessary sin of Adam! O fortunate guilt, which merited to have such and so great a redeemer!)⁵⁰ — which is similarly worded in the Portuguese text: ‘nota segundo diz gregorio. O neçes-

⁴⁶ *Confessio amantis* III.1760 ff. All quotations showing the English archetype are taken from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 3. Those, as well as Andrew Galloway’s English translations of the original Latin rubrics, are taken from Russell Peck’s online edition of the poem.

⁴⁷ MS II–3088, fol. 2^v. The translations from the Castilian and Portuguese manuscripts are my own. I have tried to follow the original as closely as possible so as to reflect the scribes’ often clunky translations of the Latin paratexts. When the Portuguese and the Castilian versions are similarly worded, only one translation is provided in the footnote.

⁴⁸ MS g–II–19, fol. 5^v.

⁴⁹ MS II–3088, fol. 4^r.

⁵⁰ *Confessio amantis* v.1756.

sario ad peccatum. O fellix que [*sic*] culpa, que tallem ac tantum meruit habere rredentorem.⁵¹ While including it in the text column, Joham Barroso's use of bright red ink was an indication that the quotation was extraneous to the text, an added material. This raises some questions regarding the Castilian owners of the *Livro do amante*. Joham Barroso had copied the text on behalf of the Portuguese noble Fernando de Castro the Young, who was MS II-3088's immediate audience and who, judging by the preservation of this gloss, could probably understand Latin. However, the table of contents, added when the manuscript was already in Castile, suggests that the anonymous secondary readers had more difficulties understanding Latin. The index in the *Confisyon* skips the entry altogether, but it is later carefully introduced in the narration, becoming one with the text, albeit with numerous spelling errors: 'sobre lo qual dize gregorio o neçesarium pecatum o felix culpa que talenac [*sic*] tantum, meruyd herem [haberem?] rredentorem, a o qual sy.'⁵² There are no stops, no blank spaces, no red ink — nothing to point to its previous nature as a paratext.

The second quotation in the Portuguese table of contents is also taken from Gregory; 'nota segun gregorio quando pedro con Judea et andrea con Assea etcetera' (note according to Gregory, when Peter with Judea and Andrea with Assea etc).⁵³ It is the very much abbreviated version of this gloss in MS Fairfax 3: 'Gregorius. Quando Petrus cum Judea, Andreas cum Achaia, Thomas cum Yndeia, et Paulus cum gente venient, quid dicemus nos moderni, quorum fossum talentum pro nichilo computabitur?' (Gregory: When Peter will come with Judea, Andrew with the Greeks, Thomas with India, and Paul with the people, what will we moderns say, whose buried talent will be counted as nothing?).⁵⁴ Following the course of the previous quotation gloss, Joham Barroso kept its original Latin form: 'Nota segundo gregorio quando P^o com Judea Eandre [*sic*] com Assea.'⁵⁵ The table of contents in the Castilian manuscript omits the reference to Gregory again, but this time, the text also skips it.

The next classical author alluded to in the Iberian manuscripts is Lucas. Puzzingly, the gloss quoting Luke's gospel — 'Lucas: omni habent dabitur' (Luke: To whoever has, it will be given)⁵⁶ — circumvented the tables of con-

⁵¹ MS II-3088, fol. 127^r.

⁵² MS g-II-19, fol. 206^v.

⁵³ MS II-3088, fol. 4^r.

⁵⁴ *Confessio amantis* v.1900.

⁵⁵ MS II-3088, fol. 128^v.

⁵⁶ *Confessio amantis* v.7719.

tents of both manuscripts but was kept in its original form in the texts. Joham Barroso correctly transferred the gloss to the text column but this time he did not use red, which could be the reason why the table of contents did not distinguish it with an entry. As in the first source and quotation gloss, the Castilian scribe, however, made many spelling mistakes, something that suggests that he was not fluent in Latin.⁵⁷ In both cases, the gloss disrupts the narrative, as the scribes made no attempt to blend it with the text.

At this point in MS Fairfax 3 there are two other *marginalia* pointing to classical authors Boethius and the Apostle (Salomon), but none of the Iberian manuscripts record them, either in the table of contents or in the text. The next marginal annotation is included, though: ‘Seneca. Si res tue tibi non sufficient, fac vt rebus tuis sufficias’ (Seneca: If your goods are not sufficient for you, see that you suffice for your goods).⁵⁸ In the Portuguese index this mention to Seneca is, as usual, translated into Spanish: ‘Dicho de Seneca si las tus cossas non te abastaren fas tu por abastar a ellas’ (Seneca’s saying: if your things are not sufficient for you, make you suffice them).⁵⁹ Meanwhile, the Portuguese text prefers the Latin version once again: ‘Seneca. Si rres tue tibi no suficient fac ut rrebus tuis suficias.’⁶⁰ The index in the Castilian manuscript skips the entry, but the scribe preserved the Latin quotation in the text — with significant corruptions — and introduced a translation into Castilian: ‘Que el enxemplo que dize Seneca, sy rreste tue non tibi suficiunt facut rrebus tuyz suficias que quiere dezyr sy las tus cosas non te abastan fas que tu bastes a ellas’ (That the example that Seneca says, sy rreste tue non tibi suficiunt facut rrebus tuis suficias [*sic*], which means if your things are not sufficient for you, make you suffice them).⁶¹

Up until this point — the end of Book v — source and quotation glosses follow a relatively unchanging pattern: They are translated in the Portuguese table of contents, absent in the Spanish one, and kept in their original Latin form in the text of both manuscripts. The annotations inserted in the Portuguese text are the most faithful to the original Latin. The most striking feature of the

⁵⁷ Professor Anthony Lappin has suggested that the scribe could have been working on dictation, something that could explain the numerous spelling mistakes made by the Castilian scribe when copying the Latin quotations. As tempting as this notion is as an explanation for the faulty Latin, it would require a larger survey of the scribe’s spelling to confirm this idea.

⁵⁸ *Confessio amantis* v.7735.

⁵⁹ MS II–3088, fol. 4^v.

⁶⁰ MS II–3088, fol. 173^v.

⁶¹ MS g–II–19, fol. 262^r.

glosses analysed so far is their complete absence from the table of contents in the Castilian manuscript. It is relevant because there are other marginal annotations in Book V, explanatory glosses, which were carefully added to the table of contents (fol. 8 and 9), apparently without any reluctance on the part of the scribe. In typical medieval fashion, these *marginalia* pointed to Roman gods and their attributes, and they were extremely common in manuscripts containing late medieval literature. Their status in the hierarchy of the marginal apparatus in the *Confessio* is similar to that of the source and quotation glosses: they were very popular reading aids and were kept in a fairly stable manner throughout the recensions. However, it seems that the Castilian scribe who copied the Escorial manuscript did not deem the quotation glosses valuable enough to include them in the table of contents. That is, at least until the last entry on fol. 16^r: ‘del estrago que fazen los príncipes viene común pobreza’ (from the ravage caused by princes comes common poverty).⁶² It is the translation into Castilian of the following Latin *marginalia* in MS Fairfax 3: ‘Nota hic secundum Aristotilem, qualiter Principum Prodegalitas paupertatem inducit communem’ (Note here following Aristotle, how the Prodigality of Rulers induces poverty for all).⁶³ A nearly identical version can be found in the Castilian text, in the Portuguese table of contents, and in the Portuguese text:

que trata como del estrago que fazen los príncipes viene común pobreza.

(which deals with how from the ravage caused by princes comes common poverty.)⁶⁴

nota aristotiles como del strago que fazen los príncipes viene común pobreza.

(note Aristotle, how from the ravage caused by princes comes common poverty.)⁶⁵

Nota segundo aristotilles como do strago que fazem os príncipes ve comun pobreza.

(Note according to Aristotle, how from the ravage caused by princes comes common poverty.)⁶⁶

The reason behind this change of approach could lie in the textual tradition of the *Confisyon*: it was written by just one scribe, but it was a composite of two

⁶² MS g-II-19, fol. 16^{r-v}.

⁶³ *Confessio amantis* VII.2149.

⁶⁴ MS g-II-19, fol. 313^v.

⁶⁵ MS II-3088, fol. 5^v.

⁶⁶ MS II-3088, fol. 208^v.

different manuscripts. The stint that was added in the middle of the codex was written at a different time than the rest of the manuscript; the ink was darker, the rubrics were enhanced by the use of red, and the capital letters were very modestly sketched.⁶⁷ This stint contained all the source and quotation glosses mentioned until now, and also the mythological explanatory notes. The quotation mentioning Aristotle was the first outside this stint, and, curiously, the first to be included in the index. This fact suggests that the table of contents was made for the manuscript before the insertion of the stint from the other manuscript, and it would also account for the multiple corrections of the chapter numbers. It is yet another clue that hints at the existence of several manuscripts of the *Confessio* circulating at the same time in Portugal and Castile. More importantly, the coincidence in the terminology used in the translated quotation — with the term *estrago* as the translation of *prodigalitas* instead of *largueza*, which is used elsewhere in the Castilian and in the Portuguese copies — indicates that both manuscripts shared a primary common ancestor, which might have been the first Iberian translation of the *Confessio amantis*.

The very last source and quotation gloss added to the text and tables of contents in the Iberian manuscripts is this reference to Seneca: ‘Seneca. Sic aliis benefacito, vt tibi non noceas’ (Seneca: Be thus beneficent to others, so you may not be harmful to yourself).⁶⁸ As usual, the Portuguese table of contents translates the quotation: ‘seneca dize de tal guissa faras bien a los otros que non enpezcas a tu mismo’ (Seneca says in the same way you will do good to others, do not hinder yourself).⁶⁹ Nonetheless, the Portuguese text, which up until this moment had kept the original Latin form of the quotations, prefers to include a slightly modified Portuguese translation: ‘Seneca diz de tal guisa faras bem aos outros que nom inpeeças aty medes’ (Seneca says so you will do good to others that you do not hinder yourself).⁷⁰ In the *Confisyon*, the index and the text both contain the quotation but translated in such a way as to render it quite difficult to understand:

como dize seneca que asy aga onbre bien a los otros que asy no enpezca.
(as Seneca says so does man good to others that he does not hinder himself.)⁷¹

⁶⁷ Herrero, Pérez-Fernández and Gutiérrez, ‘Castilian Handwriting’, p. 27.

⁶⁸ *Confessio amantis* VII.2155.

⁶⁹ MS II–3088, fol. 5^v.

⁷⁰ MS II–3088, fol. 208^v.

⁷¹ MS g–II–19, fol. 16^v.

que trata de un dicho que dize seneca que asy deve onbre fazer bien a los otros que asy no enpezca.

(which deals with a saying that Seneca says that thus must a man do good to others that he does not hinder himself.)⁷²

Conclusion

The glosses in Books v and vii bring to the fore crucial implications regarding the translators, scribes, and audiences of the Iberian translations of the *Confessio amantis*. The absence of the Latin verses and of most of the glosses dismantled in one fell swoop Gower's carefully constructed identity as author, compiler, and commentator. In that sense, the new Iberian readership received a different *Confessio amantis* than their British counterparts.

Who was responsible for this? On the one hand, these changes responded to the needs of the audience since the new reading public was not sufficiently trained in Latin so as to read the large Latin apparatus of the original *Confessio*. Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca took into account the characteristics of the reading public in Portugal and Castile and adapted the text and marginal apparatus to their tastes and needs. On the other hand, the almost complete disappearance of the Latin glosses cannot be explained by this reason alone, as the translators could have also inserted these elements into the new vernacular languages.

The decision to dispense with the majority of the *marginalia* was, thus, a personal decision made either by the translators, most probably Robert Payn, or by the early scribes. It was difficult to find a suitable place for the plentiful Latin apparatus of the *Confessio amantis*, so ultimately, the decision of whether to include them or not depended a good deal on the scribe's sensitivity towards the text and its audience. Their subtlety, or lack thereof, was displayed in an unexpected manner in the indexes to both Iberian manuscripts. The copyists did not discriminate the glosses on account of their suitability as entries in a table of contents, as shown by the inclusion of several source and quotation glosses in the Portuguese index. The scribe who copied the *Confisyon* did a better job of listing the rubrics as index entries, although his erratic recording of Latin and his inclusion of several quotations from the inserted quires in the middle of the codex bespeaks of a careless copyist.

⁷² MS g-II-19, fol. 313^v.

The Iberian scribes decided to keep a small part of the original reading aids (for instance, the glosses explaining mythological concepts) in order to help the reader navigate through the text. The inclusion of these reading aids in the tables of contents of both manuscripts shows that the scribes did not really distinguish between explanatory and source glosses and other paratextual elements designed to summarise the text.

The disposition of the paratextual elements in the Portuguese manuscript, and the correct, if scarce, quotations written in Latin in Books v and vii suggest that the scribe, Joham Barroso, was more aware of the importance of separating (both visually and in terms of language) vernacular text and Latin gloss. Furthermore, he must have been aware of the importance of Latin as a giver of *auctoritas*, as his text keeps the highest number of quotations in Latin. On the contrary, the anonymous Castilian scribe did his utmost to hide Latin, most probably, and judging by the numerous spelling mistakes, either because he was not fluent in it or as a result of a deficient copying process. The carelessness with which some of the Latin quotations in Books v and vii were rendered, especially in the Castilian manuscript, denotes an audience who was not proficient in the language so as to notice the numerous mistakes.

Ironically, the anonymous Castilian scribe was aware that the quotations were not summaries of the text, and consequently should not be included in the table of contents nor used to mark the beginning of chapters. The absence of source entries in the table of contents coincide fully with the inserted quires in the middle of the codex, something that suggests interesting implications in the transmission of the *Confessio amantis* in the Peninsula that should be explored in depth in further studies.

Ultimately, the inclusion of source and quotation glosses in the text or in the table of contents, both in Latin and translated into the vernacular, leaves these editions stuck in blurry ground between a reader-friendly approach more accessible to the new Iberian audiences and a more scholarly driven edition that, in the cultural background of the fifteenth-century Iberian Peninsula, would have had a definitely narrower audience.

APPENDIX

*Equivalences of Source and Quotation glosses
in MSS Fairfax 3, II-3088, and g-II-19*

MS Fairfax 3 Gloss	MS II-3088 Table of Contents	MS II-3088 Gloss	MS g-II-19 Table of Contents	MS g-II-19 Gloss
<i>Gregorius. O necessarium Ade peccatum! O felix culpa, que talem ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem!</i>	Translated	✓	✗	✓ (Integrated in the text)
<i>Gregorius. Quando Petrus cum Judea, Andreas cum Achaia, Thomas cum Yndea, et Paulus cum gente venient, quid dicemus nos moderni, quorum fossum talentum pro nichilo computabitur?</i>	Translated	✓	✗	✗
<i>Lucas: omni habenti dabitur</i>	✗	✓	✗	✓
<i>Seneca. Si res tue tibi non sufficient, fac vt rebus tuis sufficias</i>	Translated	✓	✗	✓
<i>Nota hic secundum Aristorilem, qualiter Principum Prodegalitas paupertatem inducit communem</i>	Translated	Translated	Translated	Translated
<i>Seneca. Sic aliis benefacito, vt tibi non noceas</i>	Translated	Translated	Translated	Translated

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LIBRI CORRIGENDI: REVISING THE *TOPOGRAPHIA HIBERNICA*

Nóirín Ní Bheaglaoi

There are over thirty manuscripts of the *Topographia Hibernica* of Giraldus Cambrensis still in existence, and as a collection they preserve evidence of a text that developed gradually over time through the addition of layers of grammatical and stylistic revisions as well as new textual and visual material.¹ This chapter will examine the process involved in revising and correcting the text and disseminating such revisions. Although it is often assumed that all major revisions made to the text are the product of the author's pen, evidence to support this assumption has yet to be presented. Prior to any examination of the process of revision, therefore, the issue of authorship will be tackled. Having ascertained the role of Giraldus in the composition of the various stages of the text, his methods can be examined more closely. The ways in which he composed his revisions will be considered as well as his efforts to disseminate those changes into the manuscript tradition. This is not intended as a comprehensive study of the author's practices but serves rather to clarify Giraldus's role in revising his text. It strives to attribute all stages of the text to him, to identify the means by which he created those various stages, and to investigate his extended role in ensuring the dissemination of that material to a wider audience. Similar to Yves Lefèvre's and Michael Richter's focused treatments of Giraldus's *Speculum Duorum*, it will offer an insight into the way in

¹ A series of marginal illustrations are found in *R*, *I*, *F*, and *Ba*. A map of the British Isles is found in *Ab*, *A*, *Pa*, and *C*, and a far more detailed map of Europe is found in *I*. For a full list of *Topographia* manuscripts and their sigla, see the Appendix.

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which Giraldus expanded the *Topographia*.² By offering the findings of a detailed investigation of one manuscript tradition, I hope to work towards developing an extended study of the modes of authorship employed by Giraldus in the context of those used more widely in the twelfth century.

As mentioned, over thirty manuscripts of the *Topographia* still survive; only fifteen of these, however, are used in the most extensive and complete critical edition of the text.³ This is due to the fact that the edition was created in the mid-nineteenth century and that a number of new manuscripts have come to light since its creation. A new edition and translation has since been completed by John J. O'Meara, but he chooses to present the first recension of the text alone.⁴ O'Meara describes this version of the text as 'the original work' before Giraldus set about 'filling out his chapters with still more symbolisms, morilizations, theological excursions, quotations from early writers, legendary accounts of other countries, indiscriminate erudition or all kinds, and well-pointed laudations of Henry II and his sons'.⁵

When examining the text in its entirety, it is necessary still to rely on Dimock's edition which contains most of the major textual variants. In his introduction, Dimock categorizes the manuscripts of the text which were known to him into five groups representing the advancing state of the text.⁶ While recent scholarship and the discovery of key manuscripts have rendered this classification model outdated, Dimock raises the important issue of authorship of the various stages.⁷ He is hesitant about attributing the fifth and final stage of the text to Giraldus, particularly due to the lack of an early manuscript containing this version.⁸ Although a manuscript of this sort has since come to light (MS I), the question remains, how do we prove that Giraldus authored these later revisions?

² Lefèvre, 'Un brouillon du XIII^e siècle'; Giraldus, *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Richter and others.

³ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v. The manuscripts used in the edition are described in Dimock's introduction.

⁴ 'Giraldus Cambrensis in *Topographia Hibernica*, ed. by O'Meara. Giraldus, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. by O'Meara.

⁵ Giraldus, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. by O'Meara, p. 15.

⁶ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, pp. ix–xlviii.

⁷ David, 'Looking East and West'. See also Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps', in particular Chapters 1 and 2. The main findings of these chapters can also be found in Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Two *Topographies*'.

⁸ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, xxv.

It is possible to build a convincing case by examining Giraldus's practice of self-quotation. Giraldus was in the habit of recycling his own material, and passages from the *Topographia* are frequently used in his other works. Some of these quotations contain variants that allow us to determine the precise version of the *Topographia* which he drew upon when quoting himself in his other works. While evidence of the author's acceptance and use of the most advanced version of the *Topographia* in later quotations do not prove his authorship of each individual variant found in the manuscript tradition, it suggests that the text was expanded by him or, at the very least, under his guidance.

Evidence of Giraldus's use of the extended version of the *Topographia* can be found in quotations used in the *De Rebus* and the *Itinerarium*. One section of the *Topographia* that was added to the *De Rebus*, consisting of five chapters, contains variants which identify it as the most developed version of that text.⁹ The following are examples of the variants found only in the *De Rebus* and in the fully expanded text of the *Topographia*:

præcipue replaces *fere solum* in the sentence: 'In episcopis vero et prælatis hoc **fere solum** reprehensione dignum invenio, quod in populi tam enormiter delinquentis correctione desides nimis sunt et negligentes.'¹⁰

The removal of *et* from the following sentence: '*Si enim prælati a tempore Patricii, per tot annorum curricula, prædicationi et instructioni, item increpationi et correctioni pro officii debito viriliter institissent, et prænotatas gentis enormitates aliquatenus extirpassent, et aliquam in eis proculdubio formam honestatis et religionis impressissent.*'¹¹

The inclusion of a sentence at the very end of Chapter XXXI of the *Topographia*: '*Quia plerumque quod altum est hominibus, abominabile est apud Deum; et e diverso.*'¹²

Another quotation from the *Topographia*, found in Dimock's third recension of the *Itinerarium*, also contains similar variants. The passage is found thus in the various versions:

⁹ These are Chapters XXVII–XXXI of the *Topographia*: *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 172–78. They are found in the *De Rebus* too but they are amalgamated into one chapter, XIV: *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Brewer, I, 67–71.

¹⁰ See chapter XXVIII of the third distinction of the *Topographia*: *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 173.

¹¹ See chapter XXVIII of the third distinction of the *Topographia*: *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 173.

¹² *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 178.

Original text: Vidimus quoaue in Wallia, unde et vehementius admiramur, **Hiberniensem pauperem et mendicum** cornu quoddam æneum, quod sancti Patricii¹³ fuisse dicebat, pro reliquiis in collo gestantem.

Expanded text: Vidimus quoaue in Wallia, unde et vehementius admiramur, **bajulum quemdam** cornu quoddam æneum, quod sancti Patricii¹⁴ fuisse dicebat, pro reliquiis in collo gestantem.¹⁵

Itinerarium: Vidimus quoaue in Wallia, unde et vehementius admiramur, **bajulum quemdam** cornu quoddam æneum, quod sancti Patricii¹⁶ fuisse dicebat, pro reliquiis in collo gestantem.¹⁷

These examples show that Giraldus was drawing from manuscripts that contained the most expanded version of the *Topographia* when he was writing the *De Rebus* and revising the *Itinerarium*. It is unlikely he would have done this had he not been the author of that version of the text.

Having established Giraldus's role in the expansion of the text, we can now examine the various ways in which he transformed the *Topographia*. Textual criticism is employed in order to map the tradition and to identify the various stages of growth found within it.¹⁸ This study revealed two main types of revision. Having completed the original version of the *Topographia* as it is found in O'Meara's translation and edition, Giraldus quickly overhauled the entire text. By means of extensive correction, stylistic revision, augmentation and restructuring, the author transformed the text increasing it by over ten thousand words.¹⁹ The second type of revision was far more accretive in nature. It involved the continuous development of this expanded text through small layers of corrections, revisions, and new material. Although numerous layers of this kind can be identified, they do not alter the structure of the text for the most part, and the changes amount to less than two thousand words over the course of Giraldus's continuous tinkering.²⁰ Because of the notable difference

¹³ This reads *Brendani* in *M* and *A*.

¹⁴ This reads *Brendani* in *M* and *A*.

¹⁵ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 180.

¹⁶ This reads *Brendani* in *M* and *A*.

¹⁷ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, vi, 26.

¹⁸ See Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps', chaps 1 and 2, and also Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Two Topographies'.

¹⁹ Word counts for different versions of the text are presented in Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps', chap. 2.

²⁰ While twenty-six new chapters are added during the initial revision of the text, subsequently only one additional chapter is added.

in the way the text is revised, I have argued that two distinct versions of the text exist: the *editio brevior*, or the text as Giraldus originally wrote it, and the *editio longior*, which is the product of the major revision. The *editio longior* was subsequently subjected to numerous small layers of revision.²¹ The systematic creation of the *editio brevior* stands in contrast to its subsequent revision which was piecemeal in nature thereby necessitating the use of different terminology for the products of both types of revision; while the first type of revision creates a new *editio*, the second only creates distinct phases of the one *editio*.

Evidence for both styles of revision is to be found in the surviving manuscripts. There are a number of manuscripts which reveal the piecemeal nature of the second kind of revision in the distinct layers of marginalia that can be found in them. Manuscripts like *I*, *R*, and *C* are all manuscripts of the *Topographia* that date to within Giraldus's lifetime (c. 1146–c. 1223) and contain a number of distinct layers of marginal additions representing the different stages of the growth of the work. These layers can be identified through a range of methods including textual analysis. Due to fact that manuscripts such as *I*, *R*, and *C* often acted as exemplars, the various stages of their texts' development have been preserved in other manuscripts. Manuscript *C* offers a clear example of this. Detailed textual analysis of *C* reveals that it was used as an exemplar for two other manuscripts before it had been filled with all the layers of marginalia that can be found in it today; marginalia that was 'added in at least three different hands'.²² Manuscripts *W* and *Bb* are closely connected to *C*, but they contain only a small number of its marginal additions, suggesting they were copied from it at an early stage of its development.²³ Distinct layers, therefore, can be identified by examining which marginal additions have been incorporated into the text of *W* and *Bb*. The identification of the layers can be further corroborated by palaeographical analysis. In *C* the distinct layers identified by means of textual analysis are also distinguished by the different hands that inserted them. The additions entered into *C*'s margin before the creation of *Bb* and *W* are written in a hand which is very similar to that used in the main body of the text. It is likely, therefore, that the manuscript's scribe added them after he had completed the initial work. The later additions, which are not found in *Bb*

²¹ This terminology was developed subsequent to my thesis and can, therefore, only be found Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Two Topographies'.

²² Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps', pp. 90–91.

²³ Evidence for the close link between *C* and *Bb* and *W* is laid out in Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps', pp. 90–94.

and *W*, are in a different hand suggesting that they comprise a separate layer of revisions added at a later stage.²⁴ In this instance both the palaeographic and textual analyses independently identify distinct layers of additions that were added to *C* over a period of time.

Through these means, numerous layers of additions can be identified in three key manuscripts, *I*, *R*, and *C*.²⁵ In effect, then, these manuscripts map three distinct phases of the development of the *editio longior*. Although most manuscripts of the *Topographia* contain a unique version of the text, the majority of these can be explained by peeling away the layers of these three manuscripts and understanding that the remaining manuscripts in the tradition were copied from key exemplars at different stages in their development. There are, however, a number of manuscripts that cannot be explained in this way, including *Ab*, *Pa*, and *B*. These manuscripts can be closely linked due to a number of textual variants, including a set of abbreviated chapter headings not found elsewhere in the tradition, but they also contain specific variants which represent various stages of the text's growth.²⁶ It seems clear that they were copied from one exemplar but that, like *C*, this exemplar grew over time and that the surviving manuscripts represent the various stages of its development.

This highlights an important fact. Even with the loss of key manuscripts, the piecemeal nature of the revision can still be seen. This is of particular importance when we look for evidence of the first kind of revision, the initial systematic and comprehensive overhaul of the *editio brevior*. Not only is there a lack of a manuscript which provides evidence of layered revision of the *editio brevior*, all manuscripts of this text provide a similar reading, differing for the most part in accidental variants only.²⁷ This strongly suggests that, regardless of the way in which Giraldus composed the revisions of the *editio brevior*, these revisions were disseminated into the text *en masse*. Given the extent of the revision and the large amount of new material, it is likely that the revisions were not added into the margins of an old manuscript but that a new manuscript of the text was drawn up with these revision incorporated into it. This would explain the lack

²⁴ For an analysis of the hands used, see Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps', pp. 92–93. This evidence is also presented in Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Two Topographies'.

²⁵ This culminates in the creation of a stemma for the manuscript tradition, presented in Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps' and 'Two Topographies'.

²⁶ Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps', p. 101.

²⁷ There are a relatively minuscule number of substantive variants, which can be partly explained by the late date of the surviving manuscripts of the *editio brevior*. For a discussion of the variants found in these manuscripts, see Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps', pp. 82–90.

of a manuscript mapping this stage in the text's growth in the way that *I*, *R*, and *C* map the development of the *editio longior*.

As with the composition of the revisions, their dissemination also seems to have been managed in two different ways. When dramatically overhauling the text, Giraldus's revisions were isolated from the manuscript tradition until a new and extensively revised manuscript of the text was drawn up. When simply tinkering with minor aspects of the work, the author seems to have been eager, or at the very least willing, to quickly refine texts by adding layers of marginalia to chosen manuscripts. The practicalities of disseminating this material have not been the subject of enquiry in either case. The latter section of this chapter will therefore consider the ways in which the author ensured that his revisions were absorbed into the wider manuscript tradition. It will begin by examining the extent to which Giraldus played a role in the dissemination of the text and will then proceed to consider the methods used to compose and publish these revisions.

Modern understanding of the role of the author usually extends only to the composition of the text. Once complete, a work is usually turned over to a publisher, who employs people to proof, edit, print, and promote it. The role of the medieval author could be more far-reaching, and in Giraldus's case there is evidence for his composition, correction, dissemination, and promotion of the text, all of which are activities embodied in the Latin term *auctor*.

The role of Giraldus in the rewriting of the text was not limited to his composition of the revisions; he also played a part in ensuring the assimilation of these revisions into the wider manuscript tradition. The interest displayed by Giraldus in the dissemination of his revisions was part of a wider interest in purveying the *Topographia*. From his writings we know that Giraldus was an avid promoter of his own work and that, on one occasion, he orchestrated a three-day event in Oxford specifically to showcase the *Topographia*. In both his autobiography and a letter to the cathedral chapter at Hereford, Giraldus discusses the public reading of the *Topographia*.

Sumptuosa quidem res et nobilis, quia renovata sunt quodammodo authentica et antiqua in hoc facto poetarum tempora; nec rem similem in Anglia facta vel præsens ætas vel ulla recolit antiquitas.

(It was a magnificent and costly achievement, since thereby the ancient and authentic times of the poets were in some manner revived, nor has the present age seen nor does any past age bear record of the like in England.)²⁸

²⁸ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Brewer, I, 73; Butler, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, p. 97 (emended translation). See also *Ad capitulum Herefordense* in *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Brewer, I, 409.

While Giraldus may have exaggerated the uniqueness of the event, there is no doubt but that it was a lavish occasion and that the author went to considerable expense to promote his work.²⁹ It is interesting to note that the version of the text read at this event was presumably the *editio longior* because it contains a supplementary preface entitled *Introitus in recitationem* (Introduction to the Reading/Recitation) that is not attached to the text of the *editio brevior*. Giraldus refers to this as the *editionem primam* or the first edition of the text.³⁰ This suggests that already by 1189 Giraldus had laid the short version of the text aside in favour of the *editio longior*, which he wished to publish and promote as the first edition of the text.

In addition to the public reading, we know that Giraldus often promoted his works by sending copies of his various books as gifts. Thorpe notes this in his introduction to the Welsh works:

If you were with him for more than two or three days and he thought that your interest was worth cultivating, he would present you with copies of his books and expect you to start reading them straightaway, asking you each morning how you were getting on.³¹

There are a number of references in the writings of Giraldus to manuscripts that were sent as gifts. The letter to Hereford, for example, mentions not only a copy of the *Speculum Ecclesie* but also the *Topographia*, both of which were given to the cathedral chapter at Hereford.³² From the same letter, we also know that Archbishop Baldwin had the text read to him by Giraldus when he travelled with him through Wales:³³

²⁹ In a short note, Lynn Thorndike gives three examples of the reading of a new work at a university. See Thorndike, 'Public Readings of New Works in Mediaeval Universities'. The other examples of public reading given in this text refer to small-scale readings of texts as opposed to the grand public event described by Giraldus. See also Thorpe, 'Gerald of Wales'.

³⁰ 'Nosse vos enim pro certo volui, quod transactis annorum curriculis triginta vel pluribus, cum circiter editionem dictæ *Topographiæ* primam, et libri *recitationem*, in publica cleri audientia per triduum solemniter Oxoniæ factam, cum archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Baldwinus'; *Ad Capitulum Herefordense* in *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Brewer, I, 409.

³¹ Giraldus, *The Journey through Wales*, ed. and trans. by Thorpe, p. 28.

³² *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Brewer, I, 409–19.

³³ Having a text read aloud was very common. Coleman records a number of late medieval references to public reading and argues that 'public reading is a neutral, unstigmatized companion format with private reading [...]'; Coleman, *Public Reading*, p. 81.

cum archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Baldewinus, vir quidem valde litteratus et in Sacris Scripturis affatim eruditus, dictum de avibus earumque naturis et allegoriis assignatis tractatum coram se lectum quandoque relectumque diligenter audisset.

(when Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, a man very learned indeed and instructed amply in the Sacred Scriptures, had listened carefully to the aforementioned treatise about birds and their nature and the allegories which they were assigned, which was read and then re-read diligently in his presence.)³⁴

We also have letters that were sent by Giraldus to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford, and Master William, chancellor of the church of Lincoln, referring to copies of the *Topographia* that had been sent to them. The letter to de Vere is preserved in certain manuscripts of the *Topographia*. The letter to Master William was included in Giraldus's *Speculum Duorum*. One letter accompanies the copy of the work that was being sent, and it alerts William de Vere to the presence of notes in the text.³⁵ In this letter, Giraldus gives a quick survey of the material covered in the *Topographia* and at the end of the letter he tells the bishop that:

Notulas quoque contra magis notabiles tam sententias quam sermones per loca disposui; ad quæ perfacile signante nota, lectoris acies dirigatur.

(I have even distributed little notes opposite more noteworthy sentences and words throughout the text, to which the glance of the reader may be directed very easily by a designating mark.)³⁶

It is clear, then, that Giraldus was eager not only to distribute his work widely but also that it was read closely and properly appreciated. By drawing the reader's attention to the highlights of the work, he must have hoped for a favourable reaction. This was not, however, always the case. In his letter to Master William, for instance, he rebukes the criticisms made by the former about the *Topographia* (a copy of which Giraldus had sent him).³⁷ He ends the letter by requesting:

³⁴ *Ad Capitulum Herefordense* in *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Brewer, I, 409.

³⁵ This is found attached to certain manuscripts of the *Topographia* and is, therefore, included in Dimock's edition of that work: *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 203–04.

³⁶ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 204. The translation is my own.

³⁷ This letter is published in Giraldus, *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Richter and others, pp. 174–75.

Aut itaque libellos prescriptos rodere de cetero et verbis minus discretis dilacerare cessetis, aut ipsos auctori suo quam cicius resignare curetis. Valete.

(So stop snapping at these books and tearing them apart so rudely, or else kindly return them to the author as quickly as possible.)

Judging the extent of Giraldus's role in the dissemination of the work is difficult, but there is evidence to suggest that he played an influential role. It seems that he has left his mark on the manuscript tradition as a whole, and this suggests that he may have had considerable control over the early manuscript tradition; that is the initial publication of the work. The evidence offered by the surviving manuscripts of the *editio brevior* offers an insight into his role. As has been stated, Giraldus put this version of the text aside at an early stage. Although the different stages in the writing and the revision of the *Topographia* are difficult to date, 1188 is usually given as the date at which the text first appeared.³⁸ A fixed date is not usually attributed to the *editio longior*, but a *terminus ante quem* of 1189 is given to it because it had to have been written before the death of Henry II in July of that year.³⁹ This means that the short version of the *Topographia* was not long in public circulation, if indeed it ever had been circulated (this will be discussed further below). In addition, there is evidence in Giraldus's other works that the author quickly and decisively moved away from the *editio brevior*. As has been shown above, the author was in the habit of reusing material, and many of his texts contain long quotations from his first Irish work. Although these quotations are drawn from a range of different versions of the text, none of them can be proven to stem from the *editio brevior* exclusively. This could possibly be explained by the early date of this version but even in the earlier of Giraldus's other works the quotations can only be drawn back to the first phases of the *editio longior*. In the *Itinerarium*, which was written c. 1189, there is evidence that Giraldus was quoting from an early *editio longior* manuscript. In a passage about St Patrick's horn, the *Itinerarium* quotes the *Topographia* at length. This quotation, however, is introduced in the third version of that text. The first version simply makes reference to the story. Even the simple reference, however, can be used to link the first version of the *Itinerarium* to the *editio longior* because the *editio brevior*

³⁸ Bartlett attempts to give dates for some of Giraldus's recensions in his appendix. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 174–75.

³⁹ Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 174.

describes St Brendan's horn, not St Patrick's. *Brendanii* is altered to *Patricii* in manuscripts of the *editio longior*.⁴⁰

Given the author's dismissive attitude towards the *editio brevior*, it is noteworthy that the surviving evidence of the early manuscript tradition suggests a lack of interest in this version of the work. Only a small number of manuscripts containing the text of the *editio brevior* survive, and only one of these can be confidently dated to within the author's lifetime.⁴¹ In contrast, there are a considerable number of manuscripts that contain the *editio longior* in its various stages.⁴² Many of these manuscripts of the longer version of the text are of relatively high quality and some are illustrated with marginal drawings, illustrated and illuminated initials, and/or a cartographic representation of the British Isles. One volume even contains a presentation initial which contains an image of Giraldus presenting King Henry with his book, reflecting the fact that the work was presented to King Henry on Giraldus's return from Ireland.⁴³ In comparison, the one surviving manuscript of the *editio brevior* is far plainer than many of the other *Topographia* manuscripts and has 'evident blunders, and often rather gross ones'.⁴⁴ It is unlikely, therefore, to have served as one of the author's commissioned gifts. While the lack of manuscripts (and particularly higher quality presentation copies) does not offer conclusive evidence, it strongly suggests that Giraldus did not promote the *editio brevior* in any meaningful way, and it may be the case that he never truly viewed it as the *opus completus et correctus* he refers to reading in Oxford, considering it instead to be a rough draft that was for revision prior to being presented to the King and, also, to a wider audience.

Once an author publishes a text in manuscript form, it is extremely difficult for him to control further dissemination. Yet the manuscript evidence suggests that there was no desire to copy the *editio brevior* within the author's lifetime. This changed somewhat after the author's death. Two of the key manuscripts used in John J. O'Meara's edition of the *editio brevior* are manuscripts that were produced in the late thirteenth century (*H*) and the fifteenth century (*P*). This

⁴⁰ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 180, and *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, vi, 26.

⁴¹ The dating of relevant manuscripts has been discussed in Ní Bheaglaoi, 'Editio Anceps', pp. 59–61. MS *M* is a twelfth-century manuscript containing the *editio brevior*.

⁴² The following are early manuscripts (c. 1200) of the *editio longior*: *Ac*, *W*, *Bb*, *C*, *Ab*, *B*, *A*, *Pa*, *R* and *I*.

⁴³ MS *C*, fol. 5r.

⁴⁴ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, p. xii.

renewed interest in the short text after the author's death suggests that this version of the work was not widely available during his lifetime, presumably because Giraldus failed to promote it in the way he did the *editio longior*. If this is the case, it would suggest that Giraldus's efforts to purvey his text may have led to the production of a considerable number of the surviving manuscripts of the *Topographia*.

In the final section of this chapter I focus on the practicalities of revising and disseminating revisions to a work. There were numerous ways in which a medieval author could set about revising his text. In the case of Giraldus we have evidence to suggest that he employed at least two different methods of revision. This evidence does not stem from the *Topographia*'s manuscript tradition but rather from Giraldus's other writings. For instance, in the *De Rebus* he tells the following story: when travelling between France and England on one occasion, Giraldus was forced to travel from Dieppe to Flanders in order to facilitate his crossing over to England in difficult conditions. At Dieppe, he hired a servant 'whom he had never before seen' to carry some of his prized possessions to Flanders.⁴⁵ Among the belongings entrusted to the servant's care were 'forty marks worth in gold and silver and in spoons and cups and there was the good palfry that he rode and the clothes of the Archdeacon that he carried'.⁴⁶ Most interestingly, in this context, he also notes the presence of 'tabulas grandes itinerarium suum et laborem annum nusquam adhuc alibi scriptum continens' (great note-books also, containing the *Itinerarium*,⁴⁷ a year's labour, of which no other copy had been made').⁴⁸ On the journey, however, the servant went missing, and, due to his prolonged absence, Giraldus began to mourn the loss of his belongings. Despite the loss of valuable possessions, it was the loss of his work, which he then feared lost forever, that 'grieved him most'.⁴⁹

Tertia vero de tabulis perditis maxima; quia de libro non edito sed edendo tabulis comprehenso et cum ipsis perduto damnum dicebat non recuperandum; quia laborem illum unde plus dolebat, nec a se nec ab alio quoquam reiterandum.

⁴⁵ Butler, *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p. 112.

⁴⁶ Butler, *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, pp. 113–14.

⁴⁷ This is presumably the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, one of Giraldus's works on Wales.

⁴⁸ Butler, *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p. 114.

⁴⁹ This story is referred to by Brynley F. Roberts in his biography of Giraldus. He claimed that the notebooks may have contained his travel notes only. This is unlikely because the author states that the notebooks contain the '*Itinerarium*, a year's labour'. See Roberts, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 30.

(the third and the greatest loss was that of his note-books; for he said that the loss of a book still to be published which those note-books contained, was not to be repaired, since (and it was that which grieved him most) the toil he had spent upon them could not be repeated either by himself or any other.)⁵⁰

Fortunately, the servant did eventually reappear along with all of the author's possessions.

This story is interesting for a number of reasons. It gives us a valuable insight into the composition of the *Itinerarium*. It informs us that the work took a year to compose and that the author retained the only copy of that work prior to its dissemination in manuscript form. Of particular interest, in terms of this chapter, is Giraldus's description of his copy of the text. He uses the Latin term *tabulae* when referring to his lost work, something which implies that the *Itinerarium* was composed on wax tablets. The Latin word *tabula* can be taken to mean a board or a plank of wood, and is commonly used at this time to describe a writing tablet.⁵¹ Although *cera* should be added to *tabula* in order to describe wax tablets specifically, there are numerous examples of *tabula* being used on its own for this purpose. These instances are listed in the work of Richard and Mary Rouse, which discusses the vocabulary of wax tablets, stating that 'a part [*tabula*] stands for the whole [*tabula cera*]'.⁵² Butler's translation of *tabula* as a notebook is correct in the sense that the wax tablets were used in the same way in the Middle Ages as notebooks are today. Understanding the term in its more technical sense, however, creates a far more precise picture of the way in which Giraldus wrote.

The fact that Giraldus used wax tablets for writing is not at all surprising. Rouse and Rouse state that 'until quite late in the Middle Ages, virtually everyone who learned to write did so on a wax tablet; and virtually everyone who made a draft, or letter or lyric, treatise or document, did so on a wax tablet'.⁵³

⁵⁰ *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Brewer, I, 82. The translation is given in Butler, *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, pp. 111–15. The *Itinerarium Cambriae* is one of Giraldus's works on Wales. It can be found in *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, VI and in translation in Thorpe, *The Journey through Wales*.

⁵¹ See entry for *tabula* in: Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*. See also the entry in Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*. I would like to thank Dan Terkla (Illinois Wesleyan University) for bringing the various translations of *tabula* to my attention. He discussed the different translations for the word in his paper 'Furnishing the Soul'.

⁵² Rouse and Rouse, 'The Vocabulary of Wax Tablets'.

⁵³ Rouse and Rouse, 'The Vocabulary of Wax Tablets', p. 12. M. T. Clanchy also discusses the widespread use of wax tablets for drafting documents during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 118–20.

For a working copy in particular, wax tablets offered great advantages. They allowed the author to add and revise material easily without wasting expensive vellum.⁵⁴ Elisabeth Lalou, for example, has argued that wax tablets provide a perfect tool for revising a text since the malleable form of the wax allows for constant revision at very little expense and without great effort.⁵⁵ It is possible, therefore, that Giraldus wrote not only the *Itinerarium* but the *Topographia* also on wax tablets. These notebooks would then have been transcribed into manuscripts for the purpose of wider dissemination. These manuscripts could then, in turn, be used as exemplars themselves. The transfer of images from manuscript to manuscript makes it clear that the latter mode of dissemination certainly occurred in the case of the *Topographia*. As has been shown above, manuscripts like *Bb* and *C* are closely linked textually. This evidence does not preclude both manuscripts being copied from the same wax tablet at different stages of its development. These manuscripts are, however, further linked by some historiated initials found in both volumes. These cannot have been passed from the wax tablets. We can confidently assert, therefore, that *C* was an exemplar for *Bb*. There is no clear exemplar for the base text in *C*, however, and it is possible that it was copied from a wax tablet. Although I have not found definitive evidence for the use of wax tablets within the *Topographia*'s manuscript tradition, it is clear that they would have been extremely suitable for Giraldus's needs given the fluid nature of the text of the *Topographia*. The cheap and portable tablets would have provided the author with a convenient method of revising his text on an ongoing basis with minimal fuss. They could then be copied by or dictated to a scribe to facilitate the necessary changes being disseminated into the wider manuscript tradition.

There was an alternative method available to Giraldus too, one that he seems to have employed in the revision of at least one of his texts. In the introduction to the *Speculum Duorum*, Michael Richter makes a convincing argument concerning the sole surviving manuscript of the text (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS 470⁵⁶) claiming that it was a *brouillon* or a vellum working-copy or rough notebook.⁵⁷ His discussion was based upon a detailed study of the

⁵⁴ Elisabeth Lalou states that 'le parchemin était donc trop cher pour qu'on l'employât pour le brouillon. La cire était le brouillon idéal'; 'Les tablettes de cire médiévales', p. 134.

⁵⁵ Lalou, 'Les tablettes de cire médiévales', p. 134.

⁵⁶ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codices Reginenses Latini, MS 470.

⁵⁷ *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Richter and others. For details of this argument, see pp. lviii–lxvi.

manuscript by one of the text's other editors, Yves Lefèvre.⁵⁸ Both arguments rely heavily on the overall appearance of the manuscript.⁵⁹ The core treatise of the *Speculum Duorum* comprises two parts and is accompanied by a number of letters that help the reader to understand the context of the work. In places this manuscript is neat and orderly but other parts appear disorganized and include revisions cramped into small spaces and on scraps of parchment. The distinction in appearance seems to mirror the partitioning of the text. The letters, which were presumably transcribed from copies of the originals, are presented in the manuscript in a neat fashion (for instance, they are written on regular folios in a neat and systematic manner) with a small number of corrections and additions. The main body of the text, however, is corrected extensively in a manner that frequently uses marginal additions or additional fragments of parchment that are bound in with the volume. The edition of the *Speculum Duorum* distinguishes between this base or 'primitive' text and the additions made in the margins or on the scraps of vellum.⁶⁰ Although two of these fragmentary inserts are somewhat regular in shape and size, the remaining sections of parchment are scraps of varying size, and they contain text in one column rather than two (as it is found in the rest of the work). That the editor had difficulty in transcribing the text due to the 'large number of cross-references' within the additional material is also noteworthy.⁶¹ Despite their sloppy nature, the fragments and their contents make up around one-third of the entire vol-

⁵⁸ Lefèvre, 'Un brouillon du XIII^e siècle'. This article outlines the contents of the manuscript in great detail. It also describes the manuscript and its many marginal additions and corrections. Lefèvre argues that 'nous sommes en présence de corrections d'auteur' (p. 169). Richter acknowledges Lefèvre's suggestion, that 'nous devons donc avoir dans ce manuscrit le premier brouillon du *Speculum Duorum*', stating that this is the most likely explanation for the disorganised appearance of the Vatican manuscript. He builds on Lefèvre's initial argument in order to 'throw light on the working-methods of medieval authors'; *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Richter and others, p. lvii.

⁵⁹ The manuscript contains the *De Invectionibus* as well as the *Speculum Duorum*. It has, therefore, been discussed briefly in W. S. Davies's edition of the latter text. See 'Giraldus Cambrensis: *De Invectionibus*', ed. by Davies, p. 3. This edition mentions a heading that is found in the manuscript which reads 'Incipit liber Invectionum quem alii a Giraldo. alii a notario suo scriptum esse commemorant'. Davies argues, however, that this is not an autograph manuscript. He relies on the palaeographical analysis of Mr Idris Bell to date the hands used to the mid-thirteenth century.

⁶⁰ *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Richter and others, p. xvii.

⁶¹ *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Richter and others, p. lxi.

ume.⁶² This lends great credence to Lefèvre's and Richter's argument that the Vatican manuscript is likely to have been a working copy of the text in which Giraldus recorded his revisions and corrections in the margins or when space dictated on additional scraps of vellum. Although not quite as flexible as the wax tablets, the use of scraps of vellum allowed the author to make his desired changes to the text without incurring great cost. These could then have been transferred into a neater copy of the text when necessary. With respect to the *Speculum Duorum*, however, it is not clear if the additions were ever disseminated, as no other manuscript of the text survives.

Both the wax tablets and the vellum working-copy would have allowed Giraldus to revise the *Topographia*, but his chosen method for revision remains unclear. There has been some speculation about this issue particularly in A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin's edition of the *Expugnatio*.⁶³ In the introduction, Scott draws a comparison between the Vatican manuscript discussed above and two manuscripts, *R* and *I*, which contain the *Topographia* as well as the *Expugnatio*. Drawing upon the similarities between these manuscripts, he states that *R* and *I* may too have been working copies. Both manuscripts contain a considerable number of marginal annotations and corrections and were certainly updated on more than one occasion to reflect the author's revision of the text. They are, however, high-quality manuscripts displaying well-executed hands, carefully decorated initials, marginal illustrations, and, in the case of *I*, an elaborate map of Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, that Scott made this argument with a caveat — an adjustment to the term working-copy:

I wonder whether Lefèvre's description of it as a 'working copy' does not perhaps convey the wrong impression, as the text [in the Vatican MS] is carefully executed with the usual initials and ruling. It is rather like the copy of his book which an author keeps by him, writing corrections or additional information in the margins against the day when a second, revised edition will appear. Our MS *I* is even more carefully turned out than the Vatican MS., witness the fine initials at the beginning of each *Distinctio*.⁶⁴

While Scott's refinement of the term working-copy is understandable, it does not address an important question — would Giraldus really use such high quality manuscripts to record his revisions? Manuscripts *R* and *I* as well as *C*, which

⁶² *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Richter and others, p. lix.

⁶³ Giraldus, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. by Scott and Martin.

⁶⁴ Giraldus, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. by Scott and Martin, p. liii.

also displays numerous layers of marginal annotations, are three of the most carefully executed and lavishly decorated manuscripts of the *Topographia* to survive. *R* contains elaborate zoomorphic initials at the beginning of each distinction as well as a scheme of coloured marginal drawings.⁶⁵ *I* similarly contains elaborate pen-flourished initials and the marginal scheme of illustrations; in addition, it contains an impressive map of Europe not found in any other manuscript of the *Topographia*.⁶⁶ *C* also contains a map, albeit a far simpler sketch map of the British Isles.⁶⁷ It also contains historiated initials illuminated with gold leaf. These manuscripts certainly resemble the Vatican manuscript in the way that they have marginal and interlinear additions and corrections. The resemblance, however, ends there. In the *Topographia* manuscripts, old variants are often meticulously scraped out and replaced in a careful hand or neatly added interlinearly.⁶⁸ Substantive additions are added in a neat hand and are often rubricated and lined in red ink.⁶⁹ It is clear that these manuscripts were updated by a scribe who was concerned with preserving the visual appearance of the manuscript, the text of which he has been instructed to bring up to date. The most notable difference between the *Topographia* manuscripts and the Vatican volume is the extent to which the texts were corrected. In MS *I*, for instance, the *Topographia* comprises five regular quires of eight folios. Only two additional leaves are needed to revise the volume, and these are used to update the *Expugnatio*: no additional leaf is added to the *Topographia*. By contrast, the Vatican manuscript includes six quires which contain additional leaves and only four regular quires of eight folios. When additional material is added to a

⁶⁵ This manuscript has been digitized by the British Library. See <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/qm817bv7839> [accessed 20 June 2018].

⁶⁶ This manuscript has been digitized by the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies. See the entry for MS 700 under the National Library of Ireland, on the *Irish Script on Screen* website: <<http://www.isos.dias.ie/irish/index.html>> [accessed 16 June 2017].

⁶⁷ This manuscript has been digitized by the Parker Library. See the entry for MS 400 on the *Parker Library on the Web*: <<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/qm817bv7839>> [accessed 16 June 2017].

⁶⁸ These are examples of the interlinear additions made to *I*: The last line of the second column, fol. 34^v; *simul* and *scilicet* are both added interlinearly in lines two and three of the second column of fol. 47^r. These are examples of variants added by scraping of original text: line 4 of the first column on fol. 37^v (*humanam* altered to *humatam*); line 26 of the first column contains the late variant *omnem fidei revelate gratiam* which is written over the earlier variant *omnia fidei fundamenta* which has been scraped out, fol. 14^r.

⁶⁹ This type of addition can be found on: the bottom right hand corner of fol. 18^v in *I*; the bottom left hand corner of fol. 21^v in *I*; the bottom left hand corner of fol. 24^r.

quire, it ranges from one to six folios. The additional leaves are often of irregular shape and size. The small number of leaves added to *I*, *R* and *C* on the other hand are always carefully cut to match the volume into which they are bound. Finally, the overall appearance of the Vatican manuscript is much closer to what would be expected of a manuscript used to record rough work. 'The text is, for the greatest part, rubricated in a simple way, in red and blue and the majority of the manuscript's *litterae notabiliores* remain undecorated.'⁷⁰ While it remains highly feasible that the Vatican manuscript was a working-copy, the same argument cannot be made for any of the *Topographia* manuscripts, particularly *I*, *R*, and *C*, which resemble presentation- rather than working-copies.

Given the direct involvement of Giraldus in the manuscript tradition, it is likely that *I*, *R*, and *C* were indeed closely linked to the author as Scott has argued. It is unlikely, however, that he would have kept three of the most lavish manuscripts of his work for personal use as rough working-copies. As in the case of the *Itinerarium* or the *Speculum Duorum*, it seems more probable that Giraldus would have relied on a rough vellum manuscript or wax tablets to record his changes. Any evidence of such notebooks has yet to be discovered, and, given the nature of these documents, it is very plausible that none has survived. In *I*, *R*, and *C*, however, we may have evidence of the method used by Giraldus to ensure the dissemination of his revisions.

Assuming that Giraldus used wax tablets or vellum notebooks to revise his text, these revisions would then need to be disseminated. In the case of the author's revision of the *editio breviar*, it appears to be the case that a new manuscript of the text was drawn up to incorporate the author's far-reaching revisions. Given the less extensive nature of the layers of revisions made to the *editio longior*, a new manuscript did not necessarily need to be created, and revisions could simply be added in to existing copies of the text. This would result in manuscripts like *I*, *R*, and *C*. It is clear that Giraldus was at the centre of this process. As we have seen above, he exercised considerable control over the *Topographia*'s manuscript tradition and this extended to the dissemination of corrections and revisions. From Giraldus's other writings, we can glean an insight into how he did this. In the letter to the cathedral chapter at Hereford, he says the following:

Rogo itaque quatinus librum nostrum, scilicet Ecclesiæ Speculum, beato Æthelberto anno jam fere præterito datum, mihi per hunc clericum præsentium latorem, ad corrigendum adhuc plenius et utilia quædam locis competentibus adjiciendum,

⁷⁰ The quotation is from *Speculum Duorum*, ed. by Richter and others, p. xviii.

remittere velitis. Memorialem enim interim vobis Topographiam Hibernicam, et Vaticinalem Hybernicae expugnationis Historiam, opera duo sc. et diversa, sed uno volumine conserta per eundem destinavi; quem cum melioratum susceperitis, quod in proximo fiet, et emendatum, alium, si placet, remittetis.⁷¹

(And so I ask if you would send me back, through this clerk, the bearer of the present letter, my book (that is to say the *Mirror of the Church*), which was given to [the cathedral of] blessed Ethelbert in the year just now past, so that I might correct it more fully than previously and add certain useful things in suitable places. Meanwhile, as a pledge, I have sent you, through the same messenger, *The Topography of Ireland* and *The Prophetic History of the Invasion of Ireland*, two separate works but connected in one book; when you have received an improved and emended copy [of the *Mirror of the Church*], which will be soon, send back this other one please.)

Due to ambiguity in the sentence structure, in particular with regard to the pronoun *quem*, this letter has on occasion been understood as a request for the *Topographia* which needed to be updated. Unfortunately, it does not make a reference to the revision of our text, but the author's demand is nonetheless of great interest to the present study. Giraldus's request for Hereford's copy of the *Speculum* reveals the author's desire to ensure that his work was available in its revised form. It is difficult to comprehend why Giraldus would not have wanted the same for the *Topographia*, arguably his most popular work. We know that he sent copies of the text as gifts to a number of people and, in time, we can assume that he requested these back so that they could be filled with his most recent changes. Just as Giraldus is likely to have given the most impressive manuscripts to the people who were most important to him, it is also likely that the upkeep of these manuscripts would have taken precedence. This would explain the presence of manuscripts like *I*, *R*, and *C* in the *Topographia*'s manuscript tradition.

This manuscript tradition contains many clues to the way in which the text of the *Topographia* developed under Giraldus's supervision. It reveals the two distinct ways in which the text was revised and the related distinction in their dissemination. While Giraldus was eager to disseminate small layers of revisions made to the *editio longior* into the manuscript tradition at the earliest opportunity, his extensive revision of the *editio brevior* was carried out in a more systematic fashion. Corrections and augmentations were kept isolated

⁷¹ A letter *Ad Capitulum Herefordense* (c. 1220) published in *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Brewer, I, 409–19. The translation is my own.

from the manuscript tradition until a new version of the text was ready to be disseminated. When we look further afield for evidence concerning the revision of the text, it becomes clear that this was not the only mark he left on the manuscript tradition. From studying the *Topographia* in context, we can ascertain Giraldus's sustained role in the expansion of the *editio longior* as well his part in the dissemination of that text (at the expense of the *editio brevior*) and the revisions made to it. The surviving manuscripts of the text show the extent of the author's control over the manuscript tradition. Manuscripts like *I*, *R*, and *C* have all the hallmarks of expensive manuscripts commissioned as gifts by the author but they also show signs of repeated revision, revealing Giraldus's efforts to disseminate every little layer of revisions he made. This evidence offers us an insight into the author's working practices and demonstrates that Giraldus can be referred to as an *auctor* in the fullest sense of the word: someone who was involved not only in the composition of a work, but also someone who played a central role in its on-going correction, dissemination, and promotion.

APPENDIX

Guide to Manuscript Labels

Shelf Mark	Label	Date (century)
Cambridge, CUL, MS Mm.5.30	M	Twelfth
London, BL, MS Arundel 14	A	Twelfth/thirteenth
London, BL, MS Royal 13.B.viii	R	Twelfth/thirteenth
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.483	Bb	Early thirteenth
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.188	B	Early thirteenth
Cambridge, CCCC, MS 400	C	Early thirteenth
Dublin, NLI, MS 700	I	Thirteenth
London, BL, MS Additional 33, 991	Ab	Thirteenth
London, BL, MS Additional 34, 762	Add	Thirteenth
London, BL, MS Additional 44, 922	Ac	Thirteenth
Paris, BNF, MS 4846	Pa	Thirteenth
Westminster Abbey 23	W	Thirteenth
Douai, BM 887	Do	Thirteenth
London, BL, MS Harley 3, 724	H	Mid- to late thirteenth
Cambridge, St Catherine's College, MS 3	Cc	Mid- to late thirteenth
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 720	Ba	Late thirteenth
Paris, BNF, MS 11111	Pc	Late thirteenth
Aberystwyth, NLW, MS 3074D	Wb	Thirteenth/fourteenth
London, BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra D.v	Cl	Early fourteenth
London, BL, MS Royal 13.A.xiv	Rb	Fourteenth
London, BL, MS Royal 13.B.xviii	Ra	Fourteenth
London, BL, MS Harley 4, 003	Hb	Fourteenth
Cambridge, CUL, MS Ff.1.27	F	Fourteenth
Paris, BNF, 4126	Pb	Fourteenth
Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 13	Le	Fourteenth
Cambridge, Peter House, MS 177 (or 1.8.1)	P	Fifteenth
Lambeth Palace, MS 622	Lp	Fifteenth
Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 1.1.3	E	Fifteenth
London, College of Arms, MS Vincent 418	V	Mid- to late fifteenth
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 511	Bc	1513
London, BL, MS Additional 43, 706	Ae	1562
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 2	T	Sixteenth
London, BL, MS Harley 359	Hc	Late sixteenth
London, BL, MS Cotton Faustina C.iv	Fc	Seventeenth

*Works Cited***Manuscripts**

- Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 3074D
 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.1.27
 —, MS Mm.5.30
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 400
 Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 1.1.3
 Cambridge, Peter House, MS 177 (or 1.8.1)
 Cambridge, St Catherine's College, MS 3
 Dublin, National Library Ireland, MS 700
 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 13
 London, British Library, MS Additional 33, 991
 —, MS Additional 34, 762
 —, MS Additional 43, 706
 —, MS Additional 44, 922
 —, MS Arundel 14
 —, MS Cotton Cleopatra D.v
 —, MS Cotton Faustina C.iv
 —, MS Harley 3, 724
 —, MS Harley 4, 003
 —, MS Harley 359
 —, MS Royal 13.A.xiv
 —, MS Royal 13.B.viii
 —, MS Royal 13.B.xviii
 London, College of Arms, MS Vincent 418
 London, Lambeth Palace, MS 622
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 511
 —, MS Laud. Misc. 720
 —, MS Rawlinson B.483
 —, MS Rawlinson B.188
 —, MS Tanner 2
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS 4126
 —, MS 4846
 —, MS 11111
 Westminster Abbey Library, MS 23
 Bibliothèque Municipale de Douai, MS 887

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TRANSLATING THE *EXPUGNATIO HIBERNICA*: A VERNACULAR ENGLISH HISTORY IN LATE MEDIEVAL IRELAND

Caoimhe Whelan

Giraldus Cambrensis's texts on Ireland have been indisputably significant for the history of medieval Ireland since their composition in the twelfth century. As F. X. Martin, the modern editor of his history, the *Expugnatio Hibernica* (c. 1188), declared in 1978: 'Anybody concerned with medieval Irish history has to deal with Giraldus Cambrensis.'¹ This study focuses on the later medieval circulation of the underexplored English-language translation of the *Expugnatio* which was undertaken in Ireland in the late medieval period.² Focusing on this translation permits us to examine a significant text circulating outside of its original context — both temporally and geographically — providing a fascinating perspective of how a late medieval translation of one of the seminal works on Irish history was reproduced for a specific audience. In this context, the vernacular language chosen for the work is of great importance, the translation being written in the dialect of English in use in medieval Ireland: Hiberno Middle English (HME).

¹ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, p. 267.

² The work is most accessible in a parallel-text edition of two manuscripts of the extant corpus, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 592, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.490. While the texts of both manuscripts remain similar, copy errors and minor alterations are evident; *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall. The most sustained study of the corpus is found in Whelan, 'Translating Cambrensis'.

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Opening by outlining Giraldus's own views on vernacular translation, this study will then focus on the most enduring of his text's medieval translations, the version rendered into HME, and explore the transformation of this twelfth-century historical authority which charts the foundation of the English colony in Ireland. Arguing that this translation demonstrates an engagement with the late medieval reality of the colonial community, and highlighting the importance of producing an appropriate, engaging vernacular pro-English history for that audience, this study will also examine certain acts of *translatio auctoritatis*, exploring how the translator handles the authority of his copy text's author, and the papal documents which it transmits within its pages.

Giraldus subscribed to a Ciceronian view of history, explaining:

Historia namque est antiquitatis auctoritas, 'testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memorie, magistra vite, nuncia vetustatis'.

(For history is the warrant for antiquity, the eye-witness of times past, the shining light of truth, the life-line of our memory, life's instructor, the messenger of former times to us.)³

While he may have favoured his well-structured *Topographia Hibernica* over the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, he was well aware of the power of narrative history, such as is found in the *Expugnatio*, and understood its ability to influence people's perception of past events.⁴ He was also keenly aware of the importance of the language of transmission. Writing his original texts in Latin might have underlined their ambitions towards scholarly authority and importance, but he recognized that utilizing the language of learning also limited his potential audience. Just as the preceding essay in this volume has demonstrated for the *Topographia*, the *Expugnatio* was also party to frequent authorial revisions. Giraldus accompanied Prince John to Ireland in 1185, and prior to John's 1210 expedition to Ireland (now as king), Giraldus dedicated the second edition of his history to John, and took the opportunity to preface the new version with a suggestion for a future translation of his work. Reasoning that vernacular translations (into French) would extend his audience and aid dissemination of his

³ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, pp. 11–12. Giraldus erroneously credits Seneca with the quoted phrase. For a detailed study of the author, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*.

⁴ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, p. 276. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* is a relatively straightforward historical account of the invasion and conquest of Ireland, while the *Topographia Hibernica*, which is focused on the strange happenings and wonders of Ireland, is a text of that hugely popular genre which describes marvels.

work into a wider sphere, he wrote passionately that someone should undertake this worthy endeavour:

Verumtamen, quoniam res gesta per interpretem non adeo sapit, aut animo sedet, sicut proprio et idiomate noto prolata, alicui, si placet, lingua simul et literis erudito, ad transferendum in Gallicum ocus non otiosus liber hic noster committatur: qui forte fructum laboris sui, quoniam intelligi poterit, assequetur, quem nos quidem, minus intellecti, quia principes minus literati, hactenus obtinere non valuimus.

(Considering also that annals of events, heard through an interpreter, are not so well understood, and do not fix themselves in the mind so firmly as when they are published in the vernacular tongue, it would be well, if such be your pleasure, that some man of learning, who is also skilled in the French language, be employed to translate the work of mine, which has cost me much labour, into French; and then, as it would be better understood, I might reap the fruits of my toil, which hitherto, under illiterate princes, have been lost because there were few who could understand my works.)⁵

Apart from his concern to gain adequate recompense for his works, he also recognized the potential for widening his audience and, of course, the allure of more widespread fame through the use of French, the high-status language of the aristocracy of twelfth-century England.⁶ The preface continues, quoting Giraldus's friend, the contemporary writer, ecclesiastic, and clerk of King Henry II, Walter Map (or Mapes), who extolled the benefits of vernacular translation on his behalf.

Multa magister Giralde, scripsistis, et multum adhuc scribitis: et nos multa diximus. Vos scripta dedistis, et nos verba. Et quanquam scripta vestra longe laudabiliora sint, et longaeiora, quam dicta nostra, quia tamen haec aperta, communi quippe idiomate prolata, illa vero, quia Latina, paucioribus evidentia, nos de dictis nostris fructum aliquem reportavimus, vos autem de scriptis egregiis, principibus literatis nimirum et largis obsoletis olim, et ab orbe sublati, dignam minime retributionem consequi potuistis.

⁵ This second preface to the revised edition is not given in the Scott and Martin edition and translation of the *Expugnatio Hibernica* so the Latin is copied from the edition presented by James F. Dimock in the Rolls Series: *Giraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 410. The English translation of this passage is taken from Giraldus, *The History of the Conquest of Ireland*, trans. by Forester, p. 177.

⁶ For the historiography of the French of England and what to call the language, see Wogan-Browne, 'General Introduction'.

(You have written a great deal, Master Giraldus, and you will write much more; I have discoursed much: you have employed writing; I speech. But though your writings are far better, and much more likely to be handed down to future ages than my discourses, yet, as all the world could understand what I said, speaking as I did in the vulgar tongue, while your works, being written in Latin, are understood by only a very few persons, I have reaped some advantage from my sermons; but you, addressing yourself to princes, who were, doubtless, both learned and liberal, but are now out of date, and have passed from the world, have not been able to secure any sort of reward for your excellent works, which so richly merited it.)⁷

Copies of Giraldus's works were widely disseminated throughout Ireland and England during the Middle Ages, mostly in Latin. Catherine Rooney's catalogue of the Geraldine corpus has identified nineteen extant late medieval *Expugnatio* manuscripts compared to the twenty-four manuscripts which contain the *Topographia*, but even these extensive lists are not quite exhaustive.⁸ It is clear there was an appetite for Giraldus's works throughout the Middle Ages in both England and Ireland. While many people undoubtedly encountered Giraldus's texts in their original Latin, by the late Middle Ages, information in the *Topographia* was most widely disseminated through the *Polychronicon*, the fourteenth-century Latin world history by the Benedictine Ranulf Hidgen of St Werburgh, Chester, and its later translations and descendants.⁹

In spite of Giraldus's efforts, no vernacular translation of his Irish works was forthcoming in his lifetime. Both the *Topographia* and *Expugnatio*, however, were translated from Latin in the Middle Ages, in vastly different circumstances. An abbreviated fourteenth-century Latin *Topographia* written by the Dominican bishop of Cork, Philip of Slane, generated enough attention in France to produce a contemporary Provençal translation.¹⁰ The most enduring medieval

⁷ *Geraldi Opera*, ed. by Dimock, v, 410–11. *The History of the Conquest of Ireland*, trans. by Forester, pp. 177–78. For Map's writing, see Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. and trans. by James.

⁸ Rooney, 'The Manuscripts of the Works of Giraldus of Wales', pp. 162–65. Two more late medieval Latin manuscripts of the *Topographia* can be added to her list; see David, 'Looking East and West', pp. 36, 63–83. At least one more Hiberno Middle English *Expugnatio* manuscript can be identified: the extract found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 526.

⁹ See David, 'Looking East and West', in particular p. 122.

¹⁰ A copy of this Latin manuscript exists in London, British Library, MS Additional 19513, fols 164–88^v, and a Provençal version in London, British Library, MS Additional 17920, fols 18^v–28. For an edition of the latter, see Frère Philippe, *Les merveilles de Ireland*, ed. by Ulrich. For brief discussions of the Provençal text, see Rooney 'The Manuscripts of the Works of Gerald of Wales', pp. 190–91; and for a description of the Latin version, see David, 'Looking East and West', pp. 77–78. For details of Philip and of his political activities, of

translation of Giraldus's works on Ireland, however, is the *Expugnatio* translated into vernacular HME in the fifteenth century. Fifteenth-century Ireland was far removed from the twelfth-century audience Giraldus had envisioned for his history, yet the new audience may have understood the challenges faced by the original invading party and identified with the heroes of the *Expugnatio*. The English colonial community in Ireland, many who claimed descent from early invaders, was confined to a small area loyal to the king that was threatened by frequent incursions from the native Irish people who were known as the king's enemies.¹¹ Clearly, in a community still actively engaged in military skirmishes and bitter rivalries, the reality of an uncompleted conquest was acute: in this context, reading the *Expugnatio's* detailed narrative of the twelfth-century invasion offered a historic parallel for late medieval contemporary struggles as well as supplying readers with an appropriately heroic foundation myth for the English community in Ireland.¹² The ability of history to provide an opportunity for a colonial community to engage with its past and its English identity underlines the importance of Giraldus's narrative in Ireland some centuries after it was first written.¹³ For a fifteenth-century Ireland-based colonial audience, the invasion was complete, but the conquest was still on-going.

The potential for this history to contribute to a sense of community identity leads us to consider the colonial community as a distinct entity, and brings us to the oft-debated question of what to call them. The invaders have been called many things: Normans, Anglo-Normans, Anglo-French, Cambro-Normans, Welsh, English, and so forth. It seems appropriate, however, to adopt the modern and medieval translation of Giraldus's term *Angli*, and, as John Gillingham sensibly suggests, call the invaders English.¹⁴ Indeed, contemporary use of the term English to describe both the original invaders and the late medieval colonists signals the desire of the community loyal to the king to stress their links to

which the *Topographia* abbreviation was a part, see Watt, 'Negotiations between Edward II and John XXII'; for details of the scholar, see Esposito, 'A Bibliography', p. 512.

¹¹ For a perspective on the military nature of medieval Ireland, see Frame, 'The Defence of the English Lordship'; for the Gaelic perspective, see Simms, 'Gaelic Warfare in the Middle Ages'.

¹² For a perspective on this period, see Crooks, 'Factions, Feuds and Noble Power', and Crooks, 'Representation and Dissent'.

¹³ For seminal discussions of the English colonists' definition of their identity in medieval Ireland, see Lydon, 'The Middle Nation'; and Frame, "Les Engleis Nées en Irlande".

¹⁴ For a detailed exposition of the use of various terms by successive historians to describe the invaders, see Gillingham, 'The English Invasion of Ireland', pp. 29–36. Gillingham suggests using the term 'English'. The widespread use of the term 'English' in the late Middle Ages to

England, and promote a sense of English identity in Ireland which is arguably evident in the decision to translate the *Expugnatio* into the vernacular language of the English community in Ireland. And it is this English identity that is central to the significance of the translation's message. Although Giraldus should not be termed an 'Englishman', being of mixed Cambro-Norman race, he is happy — following Bede — to refer to the main protagonists in the *Expugnatio* as *Angli*, a term which, whatever it meant to Giraldus, was easily absorbed into the late medieval colonial landscape where colonists were 'English' if they had access to English law regardless of extended family connections with the Gaelic Irish.¹⁵ The *Expugnatio* had partly been written to showcase Giraldus's Cambro-Norman family's centrality in the invasion of Ireland and demonstrate their loyalty to the English king, and the late medieval translation displayed a similar agenda, offering a unifying foundational myth for those who called themselves English in Ireland.

Giraldus finally had his vernacular translation, but the linguistic range of Giraldus's *Expugnatio* in Ireland was further extended when one of these English language texts became the source for a much-abbreviated contemporary Irish-language translation (Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 1298).¹⁶ Giraldus's *Expugnatio* was available in the language of learning, Latin, but also, for the first time, it was accessible in the two vernaculars of Ireland: English and Irish. This fifteenth-century translation into English provided an opportunity for those without Latin to encounter the work, but there is no necessity for that to have been the only target audience or, indeed, the main impetus for the translation. The widening of the linguistic range may well have allowed wider proliferation of the narrative. The audience for this new English translation, however, was not necessarily ignorant of Latin; some of the copies of the translation circulated in manuscripts which contain other Latin histories, and at

describe the invaders (and the contemporary colonists) seems reason enough to avoid modern complicated arguments regarding which composite label best describes the genetic and cultural make-up of the invaders, and instead use the term they adopted themselves.

¹⁵ For English law in Ireland, see Otway-Ruthven, 'The Native Irish and English Law'; for recent work on intermarriage, see Booker, 'Intermarriage in Fifteenth-Century Ireland'.

¹⁶ Most of this Irish-language copy is extant in Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 1298, although it lacks some later chapters. For an edition of this text, see 'The Irish Abridgement of the *Expugnatio Hibernica*', ed. and trans. by Stokes. Nollaig Ó Muraíle is currently working on a new edition. The text also spawns a seventeenth-century Irish-language copy of the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.475, accompanied by medieval and early modern poems in Irish.

least some of the owners or readers would have been Latin-literate. Translating the *Expugnatio* into the vernacular certainly sparked a wider circulation of the work in Ireland in the late Middle Ages, but apart from the practical implications, the impetus for the use of English may have partly been motivated by a desire to replicate the contemporary Lancastrian trend in writing in the English language, recreating the history of the English community in Ireland in the latest English style. In this way, presenting the foundational narrative of the English community in Ireland in the English language can be interpreted as an intentional emulation of English culture, replicating it within an English community on the borders of the empire.

This is not to say, however, that English identity within the colony was unproblematic: evidence of cultural interaction with the Gaelic sphere outlined a slightly different concept of Englishness than that which was understood in England. The presence of a translation of this pro-English narrative in the Irish language (mediated through the HME version) is a case in point. While the Fitzgerald earls of Kildare possessed one Irish-language copy of Giraldus's work, Aisling Byrne has identified that the one surviving late medieval Irish-language copy was held by the minor Fitzgerald family of Allen.¹⁷ The English community's engagement with Gaelic culture is well attested to by modern scholars and contemporary medieval critics from England alike, and using the Irish vernacular for this pro-English narrative suggests that while those in England may have been discommoded by those who claimed to be Englishmen interacting with Gaelic culture in this manner, the colonists were at times happy to overlook the complications it caused.¹⁸ In the light of such linguistic friction, the deliberate choice of English for the original translation and the circulation in that language suggests a certain type of Englishness was being presented for a colonial audience with the later modulation into Irish a reality of the late medieval Irish colonial context and the elasticity of English identity at the fringes of the Plantagenet empire.¹⁹

The extant *Conquest* texts are extensive enough to underline the considerable interest in the history of the invasion of Ireland (begun in 1167) within the English community in Ireland in the later Middle Ages.²⁰ The earliest HME text

¹⁷ Byrne, 'Family, Locality and Nationality', pp. 112–13.

¹⁸ See Booker, 'Gaelicization and Cultural Exchange'.

¹⁹ See, for instance, Booker, 'Ashamed of their Very English Names?'; and Veach, 'Anglicization in Medieval Ireland'.

²⁰ Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS 1416; Dublin, Trinity College, MS 592; Dub-

does not survive, and we do not have a date, location (bar Ireland), or definitive scribe to assign to the translation, but as evidenced by the text's content, language, and ownership, it was intended for the English community in Ireland. Given the dialect of the texts of the corpus, the scribe was from Ireland, most likely based within the confines of the English community. Although the fifteenth-century Dublin writer James Yonge is frequently identified as the translator, evidence for his authorship is tenuous at best, and seems unlikely.²¹ For those who called themselves 'the English' in Ireland, the *Expugnatio* provided a history of the twelfth-century invasion, recalled the deeds of their ancestors, stressed their link to England, and had the potential to generate in them an increased sense of English identity. Giraldus's *Angli* become 'English-men' in the HME text of the *Conquest*, and the community of Englishmen in Ireland could view them as heroic ancestors whose task was yet to be completed. Byrne, in her recent discussion of the translations of the *Expugnatio*, has suggested that 'for some medieval readers at least, the primary identities Giraldus's text expressed were familial and local rather than colonial or national', while the text certainly could — and did — stress these important local identities, it does not mean that such a work cannot suggest other identities on a broader level.²²

In a seminal article on late medieval Ireland, James Lydon writes that 'loyalty to one's own nation, or lineage, came first' but he also suggested that 'larger groupings called nations were recognised'.²³ Arguably, circulation of the history of the invasion and settling of the colony in Ireland could pointedly reinforce readers' sense of 'Englishness' and connection to England. The very presence of a new translation in the fifteenth century propelled Giraldus's mythologizing history back into circulation among those loyal to the English king. As a work concerned with the foundation of the community, this text would have been both popular and useful for those who desired to define and explore the history and English identity of the colony in Ireland. And while the various transla-

lin, Trinity College, MS 593; London, British Library, MS Additional 40674; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 598; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 623; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 526; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.490.

²¹ Byrne discounts Yonge's authorship of the *Conquest* in her 'Family, Locality and Nationality', pp. 107–08. Yonge's *Gouvernaunce of Prynces* appears in James Yonge, 'Gouvernaunce of Prynces', ed. by Steele and Henderson; an edition of his Latin work, *Memoriale super visitatione domini Laurencii Ratholdi militis et baronis Vngarie factum de Purgatorio sancti Patricii in insula Hibernie*, is edited and translated by O'Byrne in 'Dublin's Hoccleve', pp. 410–64.

²² Byrne, 'Family, Locality and Nationality', p. 102.

²³ Lydon, 'The Middle Nation', p. 4.

tions of the text widened the linguistic range to encompass the main languages within late medieval Ireland, it seems likely that the use of English may not have been chosen simply because it was a vernacular which would allow a wider audience to understand its message; Giraldus's longed-for vernacular translation suggested something about its readers' own identity and the position of the colony as part of a wider English empire.

Translating the Expugnatio Hibernica

Since the fourteenth century, the Irish and English languages had been competing for supremacy in Ireland and through them we can glimpse something of the complexities of understanding the English presence in Ireland and the issues surrounding cultural and political identity.²⁴ Against the backdrop of such linguistic friction, transferring Giraldus's stridently pro-English heroic narrative from authoritative Latin into vernacular English in the late medieval colony in Ireland suggests that not only the contents of the text but also the use of the English language is an integral part of a projection of the sense of 'Englishness' of the work.²⁵ Furthermore, translating a narrative concerned with the conquest of a territory whose intended audience are the current inhabitants of that same colony has undoubtedly political overtones. As Terence Dolan notes, the translation (for the most part) 'preserves the political stance taken by Giraldus'.²⁶ It is not, however, a dull verbatim copy. There is a shift in focus: while Giraldus's original had been directed to an English-based audience (and dedicated to two successive English kings), the translation is written in Ireland and intended for an Ireland-based audience which dictates a refocusing on Irish material, and an attempt to put this in an English context rather than the other way around.

To begin with, the HME text omits the dedications, drops Giraldus's prefatory material, such as the introduction to the public reading, and ignores the list of contents: instead, the text opens by launching straight into Chapter 1

²⁴ See Curtis, 'The Spoken Languages of Medieval Ireland'; Bliss, 'Language and Literature'; Bliss and Long, 'Literature in Norman French and English'. For a recent study of literature in medieval Ireland, see Thompson, 'Books Beyond England'.

²⁵ Much of the early scholarship envisioned the two languages pitted against each other, although the English in Ireland often engaged in the Gaelic literary culture: for an insight into the literary connections between the Anglo-Irish and Gaelic bards, see Simms, 'Bards and Barons'; see also Clarke, 'Translation and Transformation'.

²⁶ Dolan, 'Writing in Ireland', p. 223.

which outlines the events in Ireland which led to the invasion. The first line is slightly altered from the general Latin text which opens with a brief description of Mac Murchada and Ireland's geographic situation:

Dermittius itaque Maurchardi filius Lageniensium princeps, et quinte illius porcionis Hibernie rector, orientalia insule maritima, maiori Britannie mari tantum interfluente contermina, nostris temporibus possidebat.

(Diarmait Mac Murchada, prince of Leinster and ruler of that fifth part of Ireland, held in our time the eastern seaboard of the island adjacent to Great Britain, with only the sea separating the two.)²⁷

The HME version, however, begins by focusing on the ruler of England rather than Ireland, opening with a sentence that situates Giraldus's account in its appropriate historical context:

YN the tym that the kynges fadyr Richard & the kynges fadyr Iohn, regned in englaund well, & heighe man in Irland, þat het dermod Mac-morgh, princes of leynyster, that is I-told þe fifte parte of Irland.²⁸

This change was wrought in part to compensate for the omission of Giraldus's lengthy explanatory prefaces, and also perhaps illustrates the status of the English king within the colony. The description of Ireland's geographic location as an island next to Great Britain is omitted — presumably the translator felt that this was unnecessary for an Ireland-based audience. Giraldus had no need to mention the date of the invasion in his opening lines, since his was a work charting recent events (the invasion began in 1167 and Latin text was written *c.* 1188). The late medieval HME translation, however, uses the reign of the English king to situate the narrative in its time, linking the work to England, her history, and her kings. The translated text does not deviate in the main from Giraldus's Latin, suggesting that the medieval translator's concern was to make the text accessible for its audience through their vernacular — English — while retaining the sense of the original allowing for licence to add the occasional literary flourish and go off-script. In spite of his willingness to alter certain aspects, the translator also demonstrates a willingness to highlight the authority of the received text.

²⁷ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, pp. 24–25.

²⁸ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 4; this volume contains parallel editions of the Dublin, Trinity College, MS 592 and the Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.490; citations will follow the Trinity manuscript.

Fidelity to an original text and an accurate translation requires skill with both source and target languages, and the patriotism of the Latin original is masterfully echoed in the HME translation. The importance of this work in providing accurate information with regard to the history of the colony perhaps underlines the necessity for the translator to remain true to the source. The practical use of the history for the English settlers in Ireland — the audience for this corpus — was important regardless of the language in which it was transmitted to them. Generally such translations strove to remain close to their original without distorting either the aesthetic qualities of the translation or the original sense of the text. The classical understanding of translation represents the effort as an attempt to rival the original rather than simply interpret the text; as Ivana Djordjevic explains, ‘the translator’s victory lies in producing a work better than the original.’²⁹ This allows even the most dedicated and diligent of translators to take certain liberties. Thus alterations and omissions are an acceptable part of the translating process — either to make texts clearer, or more interesting. Our HME translation, while remaining close to the original, tightens certain aspects and omits long passages which the translator feels are not perhaps entirely relevant to the central matter. The major omissions are of chapters discussing material not specifically related to Ireland such as the chapters on the crusades in the East (XXVI–XXIX), Giraldus’s interpretation of dreams (XXX), most of the chapter on notable events in England (XXXI), and the chapters on how Ireland is to be conquered and governed (XXXVIII & XXXIX).³⁰ The resulting text is keenly focused on Ireland, specifically intended to provide a history of the invasion and remaining mostly unconcerned with other matters. While this narrow focus would probably limit its audience to those interested specifically in Ireland, its translation from Latin and the extant corpus also indicates a healthy appetite for a vernacular work on the history of the English in Ireland. Unsurprisingly, the intended and early audience were influential English colonists, but some manuscripts were transported to England by later owners who served in the Irish administration for

²⁹ Djordjevic, ‘Mapping Medieval Translation’, p. 10.

³⁰ Some of these sections may have been omitted from the Latin source from which the translation was drawn: the chapter on dreams, France, and the last chapters regarding how the Irish are to be conquered and governed are absent from some of the Latin *Expugnatio* texts. London, British Library, MS Harley 177, a manuscript of the fourteenth century produced in Ireland, is not the source text for the HME translation; however, it shares some characteristics and rare additional passages with our translation. For a discussion of MS Harley 177, see Byrne ‘Family, Locality and Nationality’, pp. 104–07.

some period, acquired this text on Irish history for their libraries, and brought it with them upon their departure from the island.³¹

Translation is primarily an act of communication, and rendering a correct version of an original text is important, particularly when faced with reproducing a text which was as popular and which contained as authoritative a version of the past as Giraldus's text could claim in this period. This suggests that the translator understood his role as that of a *transmitter* rather than an author of an original work; Giraldus is named four times within the text while the translator does not mention his own name. Through these references to the original writer the scribe draws attention to the fact that the English version is a translation, but refrains from adding more than a veiled reference to himself. He appears to see his task as accurate transmission of the historical text to his readers in their vernacular, but is at pains to highlight that there is another, original authoritative text lurking beneath the narrative he is presenting. For instance, deep into the translation, at Chapter L, after announcing Philip de Barry's arrival in Ireland 'with fair meygne from the kynge I-sent', the translator adds that

in the same flot [*fleet*] come Maystyr Geraude, that Philippes brother & Robertes neuue [*nephew*], ful good clerke, & a man that al the conqueste, & þe [*the*] state, & þe wondres of Irland, & the kyndes of pepel from the begynnyng, ful Inly soght & oft greped [*earnestly examined and often perceived*], & thre bokes ther-of maked wyth grete trauayl, fywe yere that he was ther.³²

This passage offers details on Giraldus's two works on Ireland, explaining that he undertook the work on 'al the conqueste' (i.e., the *Expugnatio*) before going on to describe the 'thre bokes' of the *Topographia*, the first book on 'the state' (i.e., the geographical state of Ireland), the second on 'the wondris of Ireland', and the third on the 'kynde of Pepill from the begynnyng', detailing the waves of invasion since the arrival of Cesara, granddaughter of the biblical Noah of the Ark, in Ireland. This additional biographical and bibliographical passage demonstrates the translator's interest in the original writer and his willingness to transmit this information to his readers reveals Giraldus's status as an authority on Ireland's history and as an eye-witness of the invasion. While Giraldus's stated connection to some of the main protagonists might (and does) result

³¹ For a discussion of the use of one of the HME conquest manuscripts in the early modern period, see Whelan, 'The Transmission of the *Expugnatio Hibernica* in Medieval Ireland', pp. 252–58.

³² *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 126.

in considerable bias, it also puts him at the heart of the action — permitting him a ring-side view of proceedings and easy access to discuss events he did not actually witness, granting him a place in Irish historiography that — for all his faults — is hard to compete with.

This deference to the original author on the part of the translator does not preclude him from altering the narrative at various points. The work's composition within the English colony in Ireland may account for some of the geographically specific minor additions, while other changes may be influenced by his contemporary society and position as a scribe in the wider colonial community. Furthermore, he is equal to the task of making some structural changes and appears responsible for a remarkable instance of cross-referencing of Giraldus's own works which further underlines this interest in providing access to important historical writings on Ireland. The translator clearly places a measure of importance on Giraldus's work, and in a number of instances the translator pays close attention to his copy text, the *Expugnatio*, and the *Topographia* while creating his new English-language work. One example of this appears in Latin Chapter XVII when, describing the capture of Dublin, the *Expugnatio* mentions two miraculous events which occurred at that time:

Eodem die duo magna in urbe miracula contigerunt, de cruce videlicet immobili facta, quam cives ad insulas asportare contenderant, et denario eidem oblato bis resiliente;

(On that same day two mighty miracles occurred in the city, the miracles of the cross which became immovable, which the citizens had tried to carry off to the isles.)³³

This is translated closely in HME Chapter XV as:

That day befel two Muracles yn the cyte: that on of the Croice, yn the moder chyrche of þe trynyste, whyche the Cytzeyns wolden haue I-ladde with ham yn-to the ylandes yn the see; & for nothyng, thay ne myghth yt wecchen out of þe place.³⁴

This passage has one minor addition: rendered in the Trinity manuscript quoted above, Christ Church Cathedral, is rendered as the 'moder' church (in other manuscripts — for instance, Rawlinson MS B.490 — it appears as 'the cee churche of the trynyste'); this is a minor change, and in general, the English presents a close translation from the Latin which situates the miracle firmly in a specific Dublin locus. But the translator has not yet finished making changes

³³ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, pp. 68–69.

³⁴ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 36.

to this short passage. While the Latin *Expugnatio* then briefly mentions the second miracle which occurred in the church, the story:

et denario eidem oblato bis resiliente; sicut in Topographia declaratur.

(of the coin that was twice offered to the same person and twice recoiled, as is related in the *Topographia*.)³⁵

The HME omits the reference to Giraldus's other text, and instead inserts a paraphrased version of the passage found in the *Topographia*:

That other, of a sergeant that hadde I-robbed the erche-bysshoppes paleys, & þer-after come to-for þe rode [*the cross*], & offred a peny: fyrst, & efte-sone, & at euery tym, the peny stert ayeyne to hym. he bethoght hym that god was nat wel I-quenyted [*pleased*] of the robbery that he had y-do: he turned hym than, & let take al that he had y-nom, & bar hyt ayeyn, & went to þe the rode & offred; & hy[s] offrynge the[r] abode.³⁶

The inclusion of this passage in the translation simply expands the details in Giraldus's own cross-reference, providing the audience with more information rather than illustrating any major change or supplying additional non-Geraldine material. It is not quite clear why the scribe included this passage: it may have been motivated by an interest in Dublin or perhaps spiritual motivation on the part of the scribe. In any case, the presence of this passage adds to our understanding of how the work was completed, as it appears likely that the translator had a *Topographia* text which he was consulting which enabled him to cross-reference and insert these passages. His original Latin source *Expugnatio* text may have had these passages added already, but this is a practice of expansion which I am not aware of among the extant Latin corpus. It is possible that the scribe plucked the story from memory or another oral source to facilitate the insertion of this passage, but given the presence of a few expanded *Topographia* cross-references in the HME narrative, it seems more likely that he had access to a *Topographia* manuscript which could be consulted when the *Expugnatio* refers readers to that work. This is an intriguing insight into the aims of the translation process — not only was the aim to produce a vernacular history, but at some level, it was also intended to provide easy access to Giraldus's work in the vernacular.

³⁵ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, pp. 68–69.

³⁶ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, pp. 36–38.

There were times, however, when the vernacular proved problematic in the new text. Most of the narrative is transmitted without reference to the original Latin. The translator, however, is confronted with a problem when he tackles the transmission of the contents of the papal documents included in Giraldus's work. Giraldus gave the impression that he was copying verbatim from the documents granted by popes Adrian IV and Alexander III justifying English involvement in Ireland.³⁷ He writes:

Unde et utriusque privilegii tenorem hic interserere non superfluum reputavi. Erat itaque primi et primo impetrati tenor hic. Privilegium Adriani Pape 'Adrianus episcopus servus servorum Dei carissimo in Christo filio illustri Anglorum regi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.'

(I have therefore considered it not irrelevant to include at this point the contents of both these privileges. The first of these, being the first to be procured, ran as follows: Privilege of Pope Adrian: 'Adrian bishop, servant of God; gives his greetings and apostolic blessing to his most beloved son in Christ, the noble king of the English.')

³⁸

The accuracy of the documents as they appear in the *Expugnatio* is now questioned, but they were generally trusted in the Middle Ages. The respect shown them by the translator suggests that he accepted and respected the documents which he was tasked with communicating to his readers — a not uncommon reaction when dealing with such religious authorities. In Chapter XXXVII, on reaching the first papal document, in a rare address to his readers he declares:³⁹

The fourme of thay preuyleges, as thay wer endyted yn the Court of Rome a latyne, nemyght I nat comly [*properly*] setten yn Englyshe, & þerfor I hyt leue; bot the meste streynth ys thys.⁴⁰

He then provides an accurate description of the contents as they appear in the Latin, albeit not in letter form — again highlighting that he is providing a summary rather than an exact copy of the original document. The HME translation then explains that the pope granted the English king authority to go into Ireland on account of the sins of the barbarous people dwelling there, and charged him with the reform of the church. It seems likely that the translator

³⁷ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, pp. 142–47.

³⁸ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, pp. 144–45.

³⁹ Duggan, 'The Power of Documents', and Duggan, 'The Making of a Myth'.

⁴⁰ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 90.

was concerned that a translation could not adequately demonstrate the importance and authority of the document, and thus he stresses his fidelity to the original, while acknowledging its original authoritative Latin form, and noting that his transmission was but an approximate summary — perhaps understanding his role as Christine Thijs envisions the medieval translator, as a ‘messenger, a transmitter of an existing text’.⁴¹

In spite of the attention paid to the first letter, however, the translator does not forget his agenda of condensing the narrative. Giraldus’s work provides a copy of the two papal documents in full, or at least, gives that impression, while the HME translation condenses the first bull, and simply mentions the second, the *Quoniam Ea* of Alexander III, concluding simply that:

Thys pryuelege was I-purchased of þe pope Adryan ... the pope Alexandre next after hym confermet that same yife [*grant*]; & euery oþer of ham amonested & parted from god almyghty, & betheght þe deuyl al ham that yn any tyme þer-ayeyne [*there against*] wold come.⁴²

This abbreviation and summary does not appear in any extant Latin text, but the translator’s willingness to summarize the second document should perhaps be understood in light of his intention to produce a shorter more manageable translation: Pope Adrian’s confirmation does not add much in the way of new arguments. So what can we say about this example of the translator’s rare engagement with the process of translation? It seems likely that the decision to preface the summary of the papal document with a note on the Latin original is perhaps wrought on account of his belief in the importance of these papal privileges. These documents were not just demonstrations of English power over Ireland but demonstrated the importance of English control in returning Ireland to the embrace of holy church, and ultimately, civilization. In this regard, the status of the *Conquest* as a translation proved problematic: the translator was aware that to translate these authoritative texts would undoubtedly change them and lessen their strength. His solution was to utilize the vernacular of the main narrative of the history to create a distinct contrast with the documents, drawing attention to the original language of the privileges in order to grant them an appropriate weight of authority. English might have been acceptable for the transmission of history, but Latin had not lost its power to demonstrate legal importance.

⁴¹ Thijs, ‘Close and Clumsy or Frantically Faithful’, p. 28.

⁴² *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 92.

This is not the only time when the translator is found grappling with issues of a religious nature, but on other occasions his reaction demonstrates a deliberate alteration to the narrative. In the HME translation, King Henry II is a more pious individual than he whom Giraldus depicts in the Latin. Giraldus presented an unflattering portrait of the monarch:

Ecclesie filius, et ab illa sceptri nactus honorem, sacramentalis delibucionis vel immemor vel dissimulator accepto, sacre vix horam hostie mittende divinis accommodans; et id ipsum tempus, ob regni forte negocia tanta reique publice causa, plus consiliis et sermone quam devocione consumens. Vacancium proventus ecclesiarum in fiscale erarium mittens; et 'modico fermenti massa corrupta,' dum aufert fiscus quod sibi vendicat Christus, novis semper emersis incommodis, thesauros universos profundebat, dans impio militi que dari debuerant sacerdoti.

(He [Henry] was a son of the church, and had been granted the sceptre by her, but he either forgot or pretended to forget the sacrament of anointing which had been conferred upon him. He scarcely devoted to sacred matters even the hour when the divine sacrifice is celebrated, and weighty affairs and the administration of his realm caused him to take up even that short space of time in making plans and discussion rather than in worship. He appropriated to the royal treasury the revenues of vacant churches and, since a lump of dough is spoiled by a small amount of leaven, while on the one hand his treasury was robbing Christ of His due, on the other, as new crises were continually overtaking him, he lavishly distributed all his money, giving the lawless knight what the priest ought to have received.)⁴³

These harsh words notwithstanding, Giraldus is not wholly dismissive of Henry. The comments above may have been both historically accurate and important in the original, but the translator compresses this, withholding the negative information so that instead, the lead up to Henry's hawking reads:

wynter, & somer, he arose euer more yn the dawninge, & herd fyrst hys seruyce of holy chyrch; ther-afty, most what al þe day he wold ben out, other wyth houndes other wyth hawkes.⁴⁴

This is a clear redrawing of the picture which is at odds with the negative description that appears in Giraldus's original, and the alterations afford a different impression of the king. Accuracy on this point is perhaps of less interest to the translator than the chance of presenting an exemplary Christian leader and an exemplary English king to the work's audience. For a fifteenth-century

⁴³ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, pp. 130–31.

⁴⁴ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 88.

audience, the contemporary monarch was another Henry, and a favourable representation of that king in the translation may have been deemed more appropriate given the shared names of these kings. Of course, potential dangers of criticizing the contemporary monarch were not the only reason the translator might have chosen to alter the vignette of Henry II; ostensibly, criticisms of Henry II may have affected perceptions of the invasion of Ireland, and maybe even the colony's legitimacy, while in a contemporary light, a negative account of Henry II might have been perceived as an implied criticism of the Lancastrian campaigns in France by Henry V, and the subsequent loss of those territories under Henry VI.⁴⁵

Clearly, in spite of an overall acceptance of the *Expugnatio's* narrative, the translator does recognize the limitations of his source. Indeed, the references to Giraldus in the translation frequently highlight a potential gap in the historical narrative. Interestingly, a few of these refer to treachery or traitors, perhaps indicating that this was a personal concern of the translator or perhaps a more widespread issue of his age. Chapter XXXII (in which the second reference to Giraldus occurs) records how young King Henry 'wentyn to the kynge of Fraunce, whose doghtyr he had Spousid, and Purchasid helpe of hym forto were vpon his fadyr'.⁴⁶ Apart from this comment pointing an accusatory finger towards French interference, the translator indicates that neither he nor his source can provide the exact reason for this treacherous act but repeats Giraldus's condemnation of some of the young Henry's advisors:

The encheyson [*cause*] wherfore hit was, Maystyr Geraud ne tellyth not / ne I ne can not say; bot many hegh & Ryche men he hadde to consaylle & to helpe, both of England & of beyend the see; many openly & wel [*good*]; most illy [*evil*] & dernely [*sinister*].⁴⁷

That the translator is unhappy with Giraldus's brief comment regarding Henry the younger's rebellion and is willing to highlight the lack of information without suggesting any other reasons for it, demonstrates both his reliance on his authority, and his tentative engagement with the fraught historical question of attempts to overthrow a king. The late medieval parallel to the twelfth-cen-

⁴⁵ Positive contemporary portrayals of Henry V are common in England, for instance, Henry appears as pious man in the Latin prose chronicle biography the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (1417).

⁴⁶ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 78.

⁴⁷ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 78.

tury attempt to overthrow the English king which would most likely spring to the mind of contemporary readers would be the 1399 usurpation of King Richard II which resulted in the Lancastrian seizure of the throne. Alternatively, their mind may have drifted to one of the later fifteenth-century claims on the throne of England such as Lambert Simnel, crowned Edward VI in Dublin Christ Church Cathedral; labouring this point might have been deemed an unwise move which may have been interpreted as a challenge to the legitimacy of the contemporary monarch.

Given the translator's reluctance to impose his own voice on the narrative on more than a handful of occasions, it is difficult to pinpoint clear contemporary influences with more than broad strokes as suggested above, but the evidence of alteration in Chapter XXV suggests another potential moment where the translation of the history of the invasion is approached with a critical engagement which takes account of the contemporary late medieval context and is also linked to devious advisors. Here, the HME text (Chapter XXV) conflates the relatively short Latin Chapters XXXI–XXXII which contain linked subject matter, mostly concerned with the imprisonment of Robert FitzStephen, and also the taking of hostages from Irish kings as part of their submission to the king of England, a practice which indicated their subjection to him. The Latin recounts how, while the King was at Waterford, FitzStephen was dragged before him by men of Wexford and denounced as a treacherous and dangerous vassal. Giraldus is critical of their motives towards his uncle who he paints as one of the heroes of the invasion. As the HME translation explains, taking its lead from its Latin source, the men:

brought to hym [*the king*] Robert steuenesse-sonne, as for gret seruyce, & yn hope of good reward; ffor as myche as he come yn-to Irlond, lond to conquer, wythout auctoryte of hegher prynce, & yaue other, ensample for to comen ynto the lond.⁴⁸

FitzStephen's crime, as presented by his captors, was undertaking the conquest of Ireland without royal permission and encouraging others not to seek their lord's permission for military action. In spite of his previous good conduct, the king was persuaded by these maligned messengers, and the king:

edwyte [*reproached*] hym, with grete thretynge, of that grete boldnesse; & lete take hym, y-bound as he was, & gyued hym to another, & put hym in Rathnyldes-tour for to kepyn.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 60.

⁴⁹ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 60.

When FitzStephen was brought before the king again, thanks to good council and sober reflection, on account of the 'grete goodnesse that was in hym [i.e., FitzStephen], and of his boldnys and his hardy herte, of many good seruyces that he and his haddyn done', the king 'had of hym grete Pite in his herte' and 'throw besechyng of good men', he 'delyuerid hym out of prisone, and delyuerid hym his londys that of hym wer take fro, of Weysford and of the contrey aboute'.⁵⁰ The word *delyuerid* here can be understood in the first part as to be released from prison, and in the second sense, to indicate a formal granting of land. The translation indicates here that FitzStephen gains his freedom and the land that had been taken from him. The Latin is somewhat different, he regains his freedom and land, but not in the area around Wexford:

ipsunque solite liberacioni et libertati, Gueisefordia solum cum terris adiacentibus sublata, plene restituit.

(and [the king] fully restored to his his former freedom, only depriving him of Wexford and the adjacent territory.)⁵¹

This change may be a deliberate attempt to reduce FitzStephen's punishment, or it may be a misinterpretation of the Latin text — either way, it presents a more assured return to favour. While this HME passage may have mislead anyone seeking to uncover the particulars of FitzStephen's landholdings, this passage could be imbued with a greater meaning for late medieval readers.

Neither Giraldus's original nor the translation dwells on FitzStephen's transgression which perhaps had further implications in the context of late medieval Ireland. The memory of the invasion of Edward, brother of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland (1315–18) and Donal O'Neill's subsequent renunciation of his right to the kingship of Ireland in Bruce's favour, as well as the campaign (supported by many English in Ireland) of the 'king' crowned in Dublin, Lambert Simnel, whose claims were quashed after the slaughter of Stoke Field in 1487, stood as stark reminders to the colony of the dangers to the crown of armies and leaders campaigning illegally in Ireland. Given this depiction of the early stages of the twelfth-century English conquest with its dubious legality, and the potential to render the invasion as the actions of a subject 'going rogue', the king's pardon for FitzStephen is extremely important to rehabilitate one of the leaders of the colonists and the subsequent colony. It should also be noted that both Giraldus and the HME scribe are keen to point out that when FitzStephen

⁵⁰ *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, pp. 60–62.

⁵¹ *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. by Scott and Martin, pp. 94–95.

was previously released from prison in Wales, he refused to take up arms against King Henry II but instead fought in Ireland with Diarmait MacMurchada. This awareness of varying degrees of treachery and loyalty might explain the translator's comment closing this section and chapter:

Some syggen that the kyng lete to-draw the traytours that hym betrayed; Bot Maystre Geroud ne telleth nothyng þer-of; & ther-fore I ne tel hyt nat to sothe [*for truth*], bot hyt oght well be so.⁵²

That the traitors are 'drawn' is without precedent in Giraldus's text, with the term probably referring to the dragging of a person to a place of execution or perhaps referring to the actual hanging as a visual warning for others to obey the law and their lord. The translator is quick to note that he is not certain of the historic veracity of the king's command to complete this action, but thinks that it could, or perhaps should, have been the case. The traitors he mentioned are unspecified, but they are most likely those who betrayed FitzStephen and, by extension, the king. The translator's anger towards those whose actions were undertaken for their own benefit again highlights the importance of being wary of those who seek to misadvise for their own advantage and, for a pro-Geraldine readership, reaffirms the precedent for the under-appreciation of that extended *familia*. Of course, Giraldus's twelfth-century lament regarding the lack of recognition for actions in Ireland echoed through the ages of the colony's history with divisive local rivalries and incoming administrators frequently pillorying each other for ineptitude or self-serving ends.⁵³ Regardless of potential contemporary reverberations, this authorial note was presumably wrought on account of what the scribe believed regarding traitors in general; those who pursue such personal maligned agendas and attempts to misconstrue justice should be adequately punished.⁵⁴ The translator was not the only man of his age to fear the result of failed punishments or ill-earned pardons and freedom for transgressors of the law. The statutes of 1390 attempted to limit the scope of general pardons, although they were frequently ignored. In his work *Regiment of Princes* (1411), Thomas Hoccleve, scribe and clerk of the Privy Seal

⁵² *The English Conquest of Ireland*, ed. by Furnivall, p. 62.

⁵³ For an example of literary depictions of such dangerous rivalry in Ireland, see the negativity directed by James Yonge towards the English administrator in Ireland, Sir John Talbot, in his *Gouvernaunce of Prynces*, commissioned for James Butler, 4th earl of Ormond; Whelan, 'James Yonge and the Writing of History', pp. 191–94.

⁵⁴ For a brief summary of Anglo-Norman justice touching on treachery and FitzStephen's arrest, see Sposato, 'The Perception of Anglo-Norman Modernity', pp. 36–38.

in London, drew attention to the dangers of permitting pardons for serious crimes which he feared could encourage repeat offences:

Of murdre is cause greet for to conpleyne;
 Tho pardons al to lightly passe and goon;
 Avyse hem that favoure hem.⁵⁵

Hoccleve, however, also recognized that sometimes public pardons could be used in a positive way; in an effort to demonstrate how society can be controlled through a measured approach, in his poem *Address to Sir John Oldcastle* (1415), he directs that that Lollard knight should repent for his conspiracy and make use of the king's mercy and pardon in the hope that others would follow his lead. The translator of the *Conquest* does not quite share Hoccleve's optimism. In the *Expugnatio*'s narrative, the crime which is most damaging is not the unauthorized invasion which was (retrospectively) claimed to be on the king's behalf, but the actions of the men who sought to destroy one of the heroes of the invasion by misconstruing this action as being against the king. The translator's moral indignation that those guilty of self-serving motives remained unpunished in Giraldus's account is offset by his drawing attention to the punishment which he believes should have occurred, perhaps eager to ensure that contemporaries did not take such a precedent as a promise of forgiveness and licence to demonstrate such egotistical treachery. Indeed, such fears for supposedly 'loyal' subjects in Ireland were not misplaced; the crowning of Simnel as King Edward VI in Dublin in 1487 supported by most of the English administration in Ireland (including many Geraldines), two years after the culmination of the War of the Roses, was a direct challenge to the Tudor crown and, later, the 1534 revolt of Thomas Fitzgerald (Silken Thomas, son of the 9th Earl of Kildare) who launched a major military assault on English forces in the colony, are two striking examples of the danger posed by leaders — or pawns — who garner support and military momentum in Ireland for their own purposes.

In any case, for our purposes, the scribe's willingness to argue with the leniency of the king in his source (as opposed to simply change it) illustrates both his loyalty to the source as well as highlighting his desire for accuracy, and perhaps demonstrates an awareness of the possible application of such an event in his own time. He is concerned with the punishment — or indeed, non-punishment — of traitors, and his addition would suggest that he is attempting to

⁵⁵ Hoccleve, *The Regiment of Princes*, ed. by Blyth, ll. 3181–83.

denounce those who betray local heroes as well as their king when they fail to realise the wider picture and think only of personal gain. Whether the unspecified 'some' who say that the king 'lete to-draw the traytours that hym betrayed' is a reference to an unidentified source or is a literary construct (the latter being more likely), the passage illustrates the translator's willingness to engage with rather than simply uncritically transmit the history — in this case, improving his text with the appropriate reaction to the event described, perhaps mindful of a contemporary audience for whom such actions could be dangerously real.

Conclusion

It is remarkable how many concerns of the original invaders are paralleled in the later Middle Ages — in particular, Giraldus's propagandistic intentions regarding the importance of family connections and Fitzgerald hegemony. Arguably, the endurance of the narrative can be linked to the continued importance of the extended Geraldine *familia* since their arrival in Ireland in the twelfth century, but its readership was not confined to that lineage alone. Giraldus's text could be used or digested by readers and owners in a variety of ways: it could be used for family, political, and historical contextualization where each colonial reader and family could take something different from the history. The histories of the Darcy family of Platten (in County Westmeath), the Prestons of Gormanston (County Meath), the St Lawrences of Howth (in County Dublin), the Fitzgerald earls of Kildare, the Fitzgeralds of Allen, and the sixteenth-century English administrator Sir William Gerarde, suggest that each copy of the *Conquest* in its individual manuscript context, could reveal very different things to and about each reader. Each of these identified owners of a copy of the work played their part in the organization and running of the colony, and helped participate in the crafting of a sense of English colonial identity. For some, the *Conquest* provided a framework for their own family history, while newly arrived administrators such as William Gerarde probably read the text to afford him an insight into the mindset of the colonists. For many readers, Giraldus's text was an interesting and useful work which provided them with the history of the invasion of the colony providing the legal authority for the rights of the English king to rule Ireland. The alterations and marginal annotations found in the HME text are instructive, indicating a high level of interest in the history and allowing us to generate some idea of the concerns and interests of late medieval scribes and readers.

Conquests are often used in historiography to illustrate the progression and development of a nation, demonstrating a structural process which creates a

positive national history. The *Conquest* celebrates English heroes in Ireland, and given its wide proliferation within the colony, it doubtless contributed to the sense of connection to England and English community identity among descendants of the invaders.⁵⁶ In the late Middle Ages, national histories in the vernacular were gaining in popularity, with the number of extant *Conquest* manuscripts indicating an appetite for history among the English in late medieval Ireland. A concern for the English connection and heroes of the conquest is perhaps understandable given the turbulent times in which they lived. In spite of widespread assimilation and cooperation between colonists and natives, through the colony's instability, the English in Ireland were constantly reminded of their 'otherness', with their sense of separation from the Gaelic population highlighting their connection to the realm beyond the sea. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, English was the language of the 'English' in England. Thus translating a pro-English text into that language in Ireland most likely had a political dimension alongside any practical considerations. The state and status of the English language in Ireland in the late medieval period, its association with the colony, and its implied loyalty to the English king underlined the potential meaning for the translation of this work, pivotal to the understanding of the colony's history — to act as a primer for not only the understanding of colonial history and identity, but also as a means by which to project a vision of their past. For colonists and administrators from England brought in to deal with the issues of the colony, the work could be seen as an attempt by the colonists to demarcate their lineage through history, and it highlighted the age-old problem of a confused identity.

The *Conquest* presents the history of the invasion and foundation of the colony for a colonial audience in a manner which articulates its Englishness, highlights its military past, and stresses the importance of the colonial community to be afforded the right and responsibility to take control of the running of the loyal counties on behalf of the king. The translation is keenly focused on Ireland, it adds minor points regarding specific locations of events and, although it is concerned with the past, it also engages with the present, seemingly aware of the actuality of its composition as a history of a colony which is still struggling for stability, control, and wrestling with English authority and their 'English' identity. The HME *Conquest* is undoubtedly a close rendering

⁵⁶ For the use of genealogy as a structuring principle in literature, see White, 'Interpretations in History'; Spiegel, 'Genealogy: Form and Function'; and Given-Wilson, in particular Chapter 4, 'Genealogy and Institutional History', pp. 79–98.

of the *Expugnatio*. However, by altering certain aspects to reflect a slightly different point of view to take account of contemporary concerns and enrich the text, the narrative can be used to shape an audience's perceptions of their past and their present. By altering the text in subtle but suggestive ways, the translator illustrates how history can — and perhaps in his view, should — be retold to draw a particular message for readers so they can glean as much as possible from the history of their ancestors and their place in the history of the English empire.

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REACHING READERS, INFLUENCING IDEAS: THE DYNAMICS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF VERNACULAR TEXTS IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Anna Dlabáčová

The transmission, translation, and dissemination of texts and ideas in the Middle Ages covers a diverse range of topics, which can be studied from different angles and in different regions. The core of the ‘Mobility of Ideas and Transmission of Texts’ project was the transmission of academic and theological knowledge to a wider readership in the Rhineland and the Low Countries (c. 1300–1550).¹ In this process the use of the vernacular plays an essential role. Through the vernacular, a wider audience can be reached than through texts written in Latin, and that audience is new and different in terms of education and their position within the Church hierarchy (laity). The vernacular allows for the circulation of learning in new intellectual and religious contexts. This chapter examines how vernacular texts were distributed in the Low Countries, along the Rhine and further to southern Germany. For academic and ecclesiastical elites reading and writing in Latin, universities and Church gatherings provided an effective infrastructure for the transmission and circulation of ideas and texts. During a *pronunciatio*, for example, a text was

¹ This project was a Marie Skłodowska-Curie ITN-network between five European universities: the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Antwerp University, Leiden University, the University of Oxford, and Università del Salento Lecce (2010–2013). Some of the results of the project were published in Abram and others, *Mobility of Ideas and Transmission of Texts*. Warnar, ‘Men of Letters’, provides an excellent introduction to the topic.

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read to listeners for dictation.² But what mechanisms were at work in the distribution of vernacular texts in the late Middle Ages, and how did a vernacular reach its readers?

To explore this aspect of the transmission of texts and ideas, this essay focuses on the *Spiegel der volcomenheit* (Mirror of Perfection), originally written in Middle Dutch (c. 1455–1460) by the Observant Friar Minor Hendrik Herp (†1477).³ The text is partly based on — and therefore strongly related to — Herp's Latin writings and provides the reader with a vernacular manual for a contemplative life. It is a voluminous text, encompassing all stages of the mystical ascent. The first part contains the so-called *XII Stervinghen* (Twelve Mortifications); the second part consists of two lives, the active and the contemplative life, the latter divided into spiritual contemplation and super essential contemplation. The practicability of the *Spiegel*, together with the fact that it is structured as a manual, makes the text characteristic of fifteenth-century mysticism. Central to Herp's guide is the reciprocity between *sterven* (spiritual dying) and *verenigen* (the process of uniting the human soul with God). The process of *sterven* is difficult to explain and to translate into modern terminology. It cannot simply be translated as 'mortification' because it implies a more active attitude in a process of stripping oneself of all spiritual connections to anything linked to the material world in which we live. The further one comes in this process of 'spiritual dying', the more the soul is united with God and vice versa.

Herp's text found broad circulation, with many copies of the text being made at the outset. There are twenty-seven extant manuscripts containing (part of) the Middle Dutch text, and four printed editions appeared between 1501 and 1552. Already during Herp's lifetime the text was translated into Middle High German, resulting in the transmission of no fewer than twenty-two manuscripts.⁴ In 1474, while Herp was still alive, a version in Rheinfränkisch was printed in Mainz by Peter Schoeffer.⁵ Around the turn of the century the

² Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 152–53.

³ General works on Herp and his *Spiegel* include: Verschueren, 'Leven en werk van Hendrik Herp'; Herp, *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, ed. by Verschueren; Mees, Houbaert, and De Troeyer, 'Herp (Henri de; Harphius)'; De Troeyer, *Bio-Bibliographia franciscana neerlandica*, pp. 108–23; De Troeyer, 'Herp, Hendrik'; Ruh, *Geschichte der abendländischen Mystik*; Dlabáčová, 'Hendrik Herp' and *Literatuur en observantie*.

⁴ On the Middle High German transmission of the *Spiegel*, see Freienhagen-Baumgardt, *Hendrik Herps 'Spiegel der volcomenheit'*.

⁵ Herp, *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, ed. by Verschueren, I, 97, no. 1. Freienhagen-Baumgardt, *Hendrik Herps 'Spiegel der volcomenheit'*, pp. 119–22.

text was translated into Latin by the Cologne Carthusians, and translations into Italian, Spanish, French, and Portuguese followed in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁶

The large number of extant manuscripts and prints, in addition to the numerous translations into Latin and other major European languages, suggests that this text was highly successful. But what was the reason for this success, and how did this new *vernacular* text reach its readers (i.e., the people who were interested or potentially interested in it) in an age in which the printing press had only just been invented and general channels for the distribution of texts, such as publishing houses, were not yet in place?

Daniel Hobbins, who has studied the publishing and distribution of works by Jean Gerson, introduced the notion of 'distribution circles'.⁷ The great Council of Constance offered Gerson an extraordinary opportunity to actively distribute his work and to reach an international audience. The Carthusian houses provided a second distribution circle. Following Gerson's death, the Council of Basel formed a third distribution circle, spreading his works even further.⁸ The distribution of Gerson's works displays parallels with the successful circulation of Herp's *Spiegel* in manuscript and print, although the two processes do not show a one-to-one correspondence. In this essay I use this new vernacular religious text to study the dynamics behind the late medieval distribution of vernacular texts. I will point to the channels by which vernacular texts and their contents were transmitted and distributed, (re)produced, and brought to the attention of potential readers. The factors that influenced and shaped the transmission of a new vernacular text, and therefore the mobility of knowledge and ideas in the late Middle Ages, will be identified and discussed.

Because Herp's *Spiegel* can be regarded as illustrative of other vernacular religious texts, the transmission of this work might help us to discern some of the basic principles of late medieval vernacular textual distribution in the Low Countries and the Rhineland. Furthermore, the patterns and possible underlying mechanisms at work in late medieval textual transmission are essential for understanding the way a text was received. After all, the way in which a text is

⁶ See Herp, *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, ed. by Verschueren, I, 21–127 for an overview of the transmission of the *Spiegel* in manuscript and print, see also Dlabáčová, *Literatuur en observantie*, in which interprets the circulation of the text within the context of the Franciscan Observance in the Low Countries.

⁷ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, p. 186.

⁸ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 193–205.

distributed significantly influences its reception, that is, the way a text was perceived and read (for which see below).

It is important to remember — although this might seem obvious — that the ‘mobility of ideas and the transmission of texts’ is not an automatic phenomenon. Texts, books, and ideas do not possess the power to distribute themselves: what they can do, however, is spur people on — by their contents — to think and talk about the text, to copy the text or to have it copied by someone else, to recommend the text, to make connections with other (similar) texts, to try to understand its contents and demonstrate its importance by writing about it. This is still what we do nowadays in academia, and beyond: we discuss a text, we create connections with other (older) texts and ideas that could be complementary to new thoughts. Through digital versions of texts, ideas and notions are circulated faster than ever before. In the case of the *Spiegelhel*, it is intriguing to imagine Herp knowing that nowadays his text is available to virtually anyone — an unimaginably huge audience for a medieval author — through the website of the *Digital Library of Dutch Literature*.⁹

Regardless of what his opinion on this matter might be, one thing is sure: Herp would be very surprised, especially about the ease and the speed of the transmission of his text — with virtually no effort we have an online version of the text at hand within seconds. Although before the age of printing every single copy of a text required a significant commitment from the reader in terms of time, labour, and materials,¹⁰ texts were nevertheless transmitted in large numbers, and one could certainly speak of the mobility of ideas through the medium of the written word. This leads to the central question with respect to textual distribution in the late Middle Ages: what were the mechanisms — if any — behind the successful distribution of a new vernacular text in Herp’s time?

To provide a preliminary answer to this complex question, I discuss the initial distribution of the *Spiegelhel* in Middle Dutch and its distribution in the Rhineland, and even further away, in the Augsburg region. First, I focus on distribution dynamics connected — more or less directly — to the author. The second section of this article focuses on the way readers contributed to the successful distribution of a late medieval vernacular text.

⁹ DBNL: *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/herp001lver01_01/> [accessed 15 June 2017].

¹⁰ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, p. 157.

I. Author-Related Distribution — Orders, Reform Movements, Networks

In a sense, the *Spiegelhel* had a good chance of becoming a successful and widely read text. This was largely due to its author. If an author had status, people were more likely to read and copy his texts.¹¹ Herp moved in several spheres at once: religious and secular — he directed the *Spiegelhel* explicitly at a lay *and* a religious audience; he was a spiritual director as well as an administrator acquainted with the Burgundian dukes; he wrote in Latin as well as in vernacular; he probably had a university education (Louvain), but he was also familiar with vernacular mysticism and pastoral care. In this way he created for himself a certain status and reputation among different groups of readers and potential readers. As a result, we not only find the *Spiegelhel* in the hands of female readers but also in the library of the Carthusians in Roermond — where the famous Denis the Carthusian lived and worked. Their manuscript copy is covered with Latin annotations.¹²

Herp began his spiritual career within the *Devotio Moderna*, as a member of the Brothers of Common Life. In 1450, a number of years before writing the *Spiegelhel*, he switched to the Franciscan Observance.¹³ This choice is significant; although we do not have any direct evidence, Herp's works and his subsequent administrative career indicate that the Franciscan Observance was more in line with his talents, ideals, and ambitions. While the *Devotio Moderna* became an essentially monastic movement in the course of the fifteenth century, the Franciscan Observance was an out-going movement whose importance for Middle Dutch literature and Netherlandish religious culture is only just beginning to be recognized.¹⁴

At the time Herp joined the reform movement, the Franciscan Observance had only just arrived in the Low Countries: in the early 1440s Observant Friars from the north of France reformed the first friary in Gouda. As an Observant Friar, Herp had a growing network at his disposal for the distribution of his works. The Franciscan Observance spread quickly, and its members propagated their cause successfully. New friaries were founded at a swift pace, and the Observance was introduced in existing friaries, not always without violence

¹¹ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, p. 157.

¹² Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. 15228.

¹³ Verschueren, 'Leven en werk van Hendrik Herp', pp. 348–49; De Troeyer, *Bio-Bibliographia franciscana neerlandica*, pp. 108–09; Dlabáčová, 'Hendrik Herp', pp. 145–46; and Dlabáčová, *Literatuur en observantie*, pp. 28–37.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Dlabáčová, *Literatuur en observantie*.

or bloodshed.¹⁵ From 1454 onwards, Herp held important positions within the Franciscan reform movement: first as guardian of the recently reformed friary in Mechlin; then, in the early 1460s he replaced the guardian of the Antwerp friary for a short period. In 1470 he was elected as the highest representative (*vicarius provincialis*) of the Observant Friars Minor of the province of Cologne. Herp held this office until 1473. Just as in earlier years, Herp held general chapters where members of the observant province of Cologne were gathered. In 1471 the chapter gathered in Gouda, a year later in Alkmaar, and in 1473 in Bergen-op-Zoom.¹⁶

The newly founded and reformed friaries provided the Observant Friars with a basic infrastructure through which texts could be circulated. Regarding their function with respect to the distribution of texts, the yearly chapters could be compared — although on a much smaller scale — to the large Councils held in the fifteenth century. At the great Councils of Constance and Basel, authors had the opportunity to bring their texts into circulation. Hobbins describes how these councils provided an excellent opportunity for publishing and exchanging texts and for drawing on the networks of other participants. The Councils were markets for all kinds of texts.¹⁷ The central position of the author of the *Spiegel* within the Franciscan Observance was favourable for its distribution during chapter meetings and for its use within the pastoral care provided by the friars.¹⁸

Looking at the transmission of Herp's *Spiegel*, we can discern certain interference from the Franciscan reform movement with the distribution of the text. We can see a pattern of active provision and distribution of vernacular religious literature. There seems to be a correlation between a female convent of the Third Order of St Francis falling under the pastoral care of the Observant Friars Minor and the transmission of the *Spiegel*. In total there were six female tertiary convents in which the Observant Friars Minor were responsible for pastoral care, and of the manuscripts associated with these convents, two contain the *Spiegel*.¹⁹

¹⁵ Schapp, 'Een gevecht met twee zwaarden?', and Schapp, 'Over "qwaclappers" en ander schadelijk volk'; cf. Dlabáčová, 'Transcending the Order', pp. 86–88.

¹⁶ De Troeyer, *Bio-Bibliographia franciscana neerlandica*, p. 109; Verschuieren, 'Leven en werk van Hendrik Herp', pp. 354–56.

¹⁷ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 193–97 and pp. 203–05; Van Engen, 'Multiple Options', pp. 262–63.

¹⁸ See Dlabáčová, *Literatuur en observantie*, pp. 118–23.

¹⁹ The manuscripts come from tertiary convents in Leiden and Hoorn: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, MS LTK 340, and Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht,

This might not seem very striking, but once one realizes that from the more than 150 other tertiary convents (belonging to the Chapter of Utrecht, originating within the *Devotio Moderna*) we only have one extant *Spiegel* manuscript, this figure indicates that there is a connection between the transmission of the text and the Observant Friars Minor and their activities.²⁰

The story does not end here. The Observant Franciscans were not only actively concerned with the distribution of vernacular literature within their own order, that is within convents institutionally affiliated with them. Being part of the larger fifteenth-century observance movement, they were part of a much wider network. In virtually every monastic or religious order (Dominican, Benedictine, Cistercian, the Chapter of Windesheim, etc.) there was a movement towards a stricter observance of the monastic rule and any supplementary statutes.²¹ Within a single order, the members who called for reform could get into severe struggles with the members who wanted to retain the *status quo*. When, for example, the Observant Friars from Gouda reformed the Mechlin friary, the conventuals refused to leave: they remained in the town and even formed a gang of robbers, entering the now Observant friary at night.²² However, the propagators of a stricter observance from different orders collaborated in their pursuit of reform. The provision and exchange of texts which supported the monastic observance by deepening spiritual life and improving education formed an important part of this collaboration.²³

This provides the context of the *Spiegel*-manuscript from the convent of Regular Canonesses of St Mary/Rose of Jericho in Brussels. One of the sisters, Elisabeth van Poyle, copied the *Spiegel* in a paper manuscript decorated with

MS 5.L.7 (cat. no. 1022). See Goudriaan, 'De derde orde van Sint Franciscus in het bisdom Utrecht' and Van Engen, *De derde orde van Sint-Franciscus*, pp. 162–66.

²⁰ Rijsenburg, Grootseminarie, MS Olim 105/54 (Alkmaar, Tertiaries of S. Catharina / Oude Hof); Herp, *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, ed. by Verschuere, I, 64–71.

²¹ Elm, *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*; Roest, 'Observant Reform in Religious Orders'.

²² Withof, 'De hervorming der minderbroeders', pp. 50–51; Schaap, 'Een gevecht met twee zwaarden?', p. 454.

²³ See Williams-Krapp, 'Die Bedeutung der reformierten Klöster', pp. 326–28; Williams-Krapp, 'Ordensreform und Literatur im 15. Jahrhundert'; Williams-Krapp, 'Observanzbewegungen, monastische Spiritualität und geistliche Literatur im 15. Jahrhundert'; Schlotheuber, 'Ebsterf und seine Schülerinnen'; and Schlotheuber, 'Bücher und Bildung'. For the Low Countries, see Dlabáčová, *Literatuur en observantie*, pp. 156–209, and Dlabáčová, 'Transcending the Order'.

simple pen-flourished initials around 1470.²⁴ This was also the time during which the canonesses were in touch with the Observant Friars from the nearby friary of Boetendaal. This friary was founded by Herp in 1467 at the request of Isabella of Portugal (widow of the Burgundian duke Philip the Good),²⁵ and Herp probably became the friary's first guardian. As father confessors, the Boetendaal friars visited the canonesses of Jericho, whose communal life was reformed in the latter half of the 1450s: Jericho was established in 1457 through the merger of two convents, and the new convent was put under the supervision of the Chapter of Windesheim.²⁶ As the inner spiritual counterpart of their institutional reform, the sisters became very active in copying spiritual texts. They are well known for their collections of the sermons held by their father confessors.²⁷

The Observant Friars from Boetendaal also came to preach at Jericho. The introduction to one of the sermon collections, on which Elisabeth van Poyle — the sister who copied the *Spiegel* — worked together with other sisters, refers to the great talent of the Boetendaal friars. Their sermons were deeply inspiring for the spiritual life of the sisters.²⁸ This sermon collection contains several sermons relevant for the connections between Jericho and Boetendaal, and I focus on one of these here.

The rubric appearing before this sermon announces that the leader of the Observant Friars Minor of the province of Cologne delivered the sermon at Jericho.²⁹ This was probably Michael de Lyra, who was *vicarius provincialis* between 1476 and 1479.³⁰ He knew Herp personally, making it likely that he also knew his work. Together they solved an argument between the Chapter of Our Lady and the Franciscan Observant friary in Antwerp in the early 1460s.³¹

²⁴ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 2136.

²⁵ Houbaert, 'Minderbroederskloosters in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden'; Verschueren, 'Leven en werk van Hendrik Herp', p. 353. Cf. Averkorn 'Landesherren und Mendikanten', p. 270.

²⁶ Stoop, 'Schrijven in commissie', pp. 61–64; and Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, which provides an extensive study of the convent and its manuscript production.

²⁷ Patricia Stoop has studied these collections extensively. See also Mertens, 'Ghostwriting Sisters'.

²⁸ Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, MS 902, fol. 2^r.

²⁹ Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, MS 902, fol. 17^r.

³⁰ Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, p. 274. A second candidate is Herp himself. For a thorough discussion of the sermon, see pp. 276–79. See also Dlabáčová, *Literatuur en observantie*, pp. 125–28, and Dlabáčová, 'Transcending the Order', pp. 93–95.

³¹ Verschueren, 'Leven en werk van Hendrik Herp', pp. 352–53; Schoutens, *Geschiedenis*

De Lyra's sermon combines the outer, practical, strict observance of the rule with an inner, spiritual reform, manifesting mystical elements. He repeatedly instructs the sisters to keep strictly to the observance of their rule.³² He also encourages the sisters to focus on God only. Everything that is not God will go up in flames at the Last Judgement.³³ This deprivation from all things worldly is one of the central themes of Herp's *Spiegel*: in the process of *sterven*, the soul must be freed from everything that is not God in order to rise up to Him.³⁴

De Lyra also uses the *exemplum* of a burning mirror in order to explain to the sisters how God can be received directly into the human soul and how the soul has to be remodelled in order to make this possible. A soul with a good disposition is like a burning mirror — it does not receive God in a diffuse way but directly and in a concentrated manner so that the highest part of the soul is illuminated. This *exemplum*, based on Ruusbroec's *Twelve Beguines*, is also discussed by Herp in his *Spiegel* in a more elaborate way.³⁵

What is remarkable is that when we look at the *Spiegel* manuscript copied by Elisabeth, this is one of the passages marked with a *nota* in the margin.³⁶ Did she (or one of the sisters) recognise the metaphor from De Lyra's sermon? These marginal notes show that the canonesses were not solely the receiving party — they actively studied the text and made links to other texts, for example to the sermons by the Boetendaal friars. This interaction between pastoral care in the spoken word and in the written text is a key to understanding why the sisters committed themselves to making a copy of the *Spiegel*.

In Jericho, Herp's *Spiegel* functioned as an extension of the pastoral care provided by the Boetendaal friars through their sermons. Topics touched upon by the preachers could be found in a more elaborate form in Herp's *Spiegel*. In turn, the sermons supplemented Herp's written text with practical, religious instruction. It is to be expected that the Boetendaal friars were familiar with Herp's *Spiegel*, especially De Lyra, who was personally acquainted with Herp,

van het voormalig minderbroederklooster, pp. 25–29; Houbaert, 'Minderbroederskloosters in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', pp. 47–48.

³² Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, MS 902, fols 18^r, 23^v.

³³ Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, MS 902, fol. 18^{r-v}.

³⁴ Cf. Herp, *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, ed. by Verschuere, II, 133, ll. 232–36.

³⁵ Van Ruusbroec, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Kors, pp. 43–44; Herp, *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, ed. by Verschuere, II, 411–13, ll. 67–74 (chap. 63, § 2). Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, MS 902, fols 21^v–22^r.

³⁶ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 2136, fol. 151^r.

and that they consciously provided the sisters with this mystical manual. But who took the initiative: did the friars themselves bring a copy of Herp's text to the sisters, or did the sisters ask for a manuscript of the *Spiegel* that they could copy? Or did they more generally ask the friars for a text which they could use to deepen and intensify their spirituality and in which they could read more about the themes the friars brought up in their sermons?

However this may be, the eagerness of the sisters to copy the written material provided by the Observant Friars — even though they had to do so under pressing circumstances and in a rather uncomfortable position — is apparent from the copy of a sermon by the guardian of Boetendaal (1475–77) and one of the most famous persons within the Franciscan Observance, Hendrik Berninck.³⁷ The copy is found in the same sermon collection as the sermon by De Lyra.³⁸ Unlike all the other sermons in the collection, this sermon is written with purple ink and in *cursiva*, instead of with black ink and in *littera hybrida*. In the lower margin the sister explains the deviant appearance of this sermon: 'Dit was aldus ghescreven, om dat ic gheen en hadde ende anxt dat mi den boeck ontgaen soude, met groter haesten op eenen knye' (This was thus written — because I had no ink and I was afraid to lose the book — in great hurry on my knee).³⁹ The copy of this sermon is a beautiful example of vernacular textual distribution among Herp's direct acquaintances. It is likely that Berninck carried written copies of his work with him, placing them at the disposal of interested readers, in this case the sisters of Jericho.

The distribution of Herp's *Spiegel* to the Jericho convent shows that the way in which a given text was distributed — the way readers became interested in a text and/or acquired a text — affected their reception of it. In a way the sisters in Jericho saw Herp's text through the eyes of the Boetendaal friars. Listening to their sermons (and writing them down) would have highlighted certain themes and passages from the *Spiegel*.

Furthermore, the manuscript from Jericho shows that a factor of major importance for the distribution of Herp's new text was his role within the Franciscan Observance, and above all the fact that this movement's position within the broader fifteenth-century monastic observance. Whatever the order, reform and observance of the rule formed a common interest. It was this common interest that brought the friars and the canonesses together. Moreover the

³⁷ De Troeyer, *Bio-Bibliographia franciscana neerlandica*, pp. 128–38.

³⁸ Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, MS 902, fols 288^r–233^v.

³⁹ Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, MS 902, fol. 288^r.

Observant Franciscans were not the only ones to come and preach at the convent of Jericho: Observant Dominicans belonging to the reformed Congregation of Holland also visited the sisters and prepared sermons for them in order to enrich their spiritual life.⁴⁰

The Middle High German translation of the *Spiegel* has a similar history. Herp's text was brought to the female Dominican convent of St Katharina in Nürnberg from the Rhineland, probably by Peter Kirchsclag, one of the most important reformers within the Dominican Observance in Germany. In the Dominican convent of St Katharina, where the nuns followed the strict observance, the text was translated and the translation was used as 'reform literature' — literature that acted as the spiritual counterpart of the institutional reform.⁴¹

With the Middle High German translation we are not simply moving away from Middle Dutch and the Low Countries: the distance to the author also becomes greater, physically as well as linguistically. Moving away from the author, we can now take a closer look at the role of consumers in the distribution of a vernacular text. Did readers do anything — apart from committing to making manuscript copies of the text like the canonesses of Jericho — to contribute to the successful distribution of a vernacular text in the late Middle Ages? Although this question could be answered using examples from the Middle Dutch transmission of the *Spiegel*, I attempt here to broaden our perspective by discussing the involvement and contribution of readers along the Rhine and in Swabia in the distribution of Herp's *Spiegel*.

II. Reader-Related Distribution — *Explanations, Introductions, Interpretations*

In addition to the text being transmitted through the network of the author and broader networks based on common interests, ideas, and ideologies, additional mechanisms were also at work in the transmission of texts in the late Middle Ages. One of them is the all-important addition of text(s) to the 'origi-

⁴⁰ Stoop, 'Schrijven in commissie', pp. 400–02, and Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 279–98. On the Dominicans in Brussels and their reform, see Lemaire, Henry, and Rouzet, *Isabella van Portugal*, p. 71. The origin of the Congregation of Holland is described in Wolfs, 'Dominikanische Observanzbestrebungen'.

⁴¹ Steinke, "Den Bräutigam nehmt euch", pp. 150–53; Freienhagen-Baumgardt, *Hendrik Herps 'Spiegel der volcomenheit'*, pp. 44–47. Cf. Dlabáčová, 'Hendrik Herp', pp. 159, 161, and Dlabáčová *Literatuur en observantie*, pp. 156–64.

nal text'⁴² and the creation of a collection of texts within a manuscript. This phenomenon occurred frequently in *Spiegel* manuscripts. In fact, miscellaneous manuscripts prevailed in late medieval textual culture, and in case of the *Spiegel* there are only three extant manuscripts in which Herp's text is *not* combined with other texts.⁴³ Manuscript culture allowed for this personalizing and customising of texts and text collections.

Each time Herp's text is found in association with another text, this influenced the way the text was read — different combinations stressed different aspects of the *Spiegel*. If the text was found with the *Spiritual Espousals* written by Ruusbroec, its mystical dimension would be emphasized and the *Spiegel* would be viewed by the readers of this particular manuscript within the tradition of fourteenth-century mysticism; if, however, the same text was combined with fifteenth-century moralizing treatises on the correct way of life in a religious community, then the more practical aspects of the text (mainly in the *XII Stervinghen*) and the applied help it provides in the reformation of a community would be highlighted. These are just simple examples, and although this 'customization' and the possibilities it brought to readers must have played an important role in the distribution of texts, the remainder of this chapter focuses on the role of texts that were purposely written to accompany Herp's *Spiegel* in the distribution of the text.

Authors could supply para-texts that helped the reader in navigating the contents of the text. These included section headings, diagrams, tables, titles, or indexes. Many authors participated in this preparation of their text for the readership.⁴⁴ Herp probably provided his readers with chapter titles and a table of contents of his book; the earliest manuscripts contain an extensive table of contents.⁴⁵ In so doing he provided the tools by which readers could more easily access the *Spiegel* and select parts of the manual that were of interest to them, instead of only reading the text in a linear fashion.⁴⁶ But one could go

⁴² Because of the very nature of textual transmission in the Middle Ages and the different notion(s) of authorship, we cannot speak of original texts in the modern sense. On medieval authorship, see Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*.

⁴³ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 2136; Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, MS 5.L.7 (cat. no. 1022), and Weert, Gemeentemuseum Jacob van Horne, MS CMW 30.

⁴⁴ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 167–72, 163–65.

⁴⁵ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, MS LTK 1129, fols 2^r–3^v (1462?), and Weert, Gemeentemuseum Jacob van Horne, MS CMW 39, fols 4^r–5^v (1466).

⁴⁶ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, p. 172.

even further and expand the text by adding sections, an introduction, an explanation, or an interpretation of the text.⁴⁷ This could also be done by the author himself, but in the case of the *Spiegel* it was done by the readers.

There is often much emphasis on the negative influence of readers, and particularly scribes, on a text.⁴⁸ A medieval author had only very limited control over the reception and circulation of his text — once a text was in circulation, anyone could copy it, a competent scribe or a rather unskilled one. Each copy brought the risk of corruption, and changes could also be made purposely. In two manuscripts of Herp's *Spiegel* a passage was changed or completely omitted because the (religious) scribes found Herp's statement — that living in a religious community according to the three vows is absolutely not necessary to reach a perfect spiritual life — not appropriate for readers within a convent.⁴⁹

However, readers of course also played a positive role in the distribution of a text and thus contributed to its successful distribution. They did not always make mistakes or damage the text; rather, they played a key role in late medieval publication and in the distribution process of vernacular texts. In view of textual distribution, appropriation of a text by readers — even if that meant changing the text itself — should in my opinion be seen as an important mechanism for further transmission.⁵⁰ The distribution of the *Spiegel* along the Rhine and in the Augsburg region shows that one of the tools readers and producers had at hand was the addition of a purposely written text. I provide two examples of this here.

In or before 1474, the *Spiegel* was printed in Rheinfränkisch by Peter Schoeffer in Mainz.⁵¹ The edition contains the complete text of Herp's *Spiegel*, followed by a shorter text. Kristina Freienhagen-Baumgardt, who studied the Middle High German transmission of Herp's text extensively, identifies this

⁴⁷ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 154, 178.

⁴⁸ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 154–55, 165–67, 175–78.

⁴⁹ Herp, *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, ed. by Verschueren, II, 21, ll. 17–22. This passage is adapted in manuscript The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS KA 30, fols 228^v–229^r and omitted in New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS NH 108, fol. 2^r. See Dlábočová, *Literatuur en observantie*, pp. 199–200.

⁵⁰ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, p. 165.

⁵¹ The edition is dated before 10 September 1474; see *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, British Library <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html>> [accessed 20 March 2018], no. 00677500. See also Herp, *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, ed. by Verschueren, I, 97–98. According to Verschueren, the print was based on a manuscript from the Carthusian monastery Salvatorberg near Erfurt, but this assumption is no longer tenable.

text as a two-part commentary. In her opinion, the text — divided into the two parts *Von der gestorbenheit* and *Von der ungestorbenheit* — is not so specifically aligned to the *Spiegel* that it could not be transmitted with another text.⁵² However, the text is so strongly and explicitly linked to Herp's *Spiegel* that we are certainly dealing with a purposely written explanatory text for the *Spiegel*. At the opening of the text the anonymous author even refers directly to the *Spiegel*:

Ane gemercket das der geistliche vnd ynnige vatter yn dissem geynwirtigen syme spiegel der volnkommenheyt sere dyff schribet vnd sonderlich viel von der gestorbenheyt vnd vngestorbenheyt der menschen [...].⁵³

(Considering that the spiritual and ardent father in this present *Spiegel der volnkommenheyt* writes in depth and especially extensively about the *gestorbenheyt* and *vngestorbenheyt* of people [...].)

The author of the preceding text in the edition (the *Spiegel*) is identified as 'der geistliche vnd ynnige vatter', adding authority to the text. In the *Spiegel*, the *gestorbenheyt* and *ungeborbenheyt* are central notions — these are degrees of progression within the process of *sterven*, of 'spiritual dying'. *Gestorbenheyt* refers to a state in which a person has completed the process. If someone is in the state of *ungestorbenheyt*, he has not yet begun the process, has not yet completed it, or has regressed in the process. Since a correct understanding of these two notions, *gestorbenheyt* and *ungestorbenheyt*, is essential for reaching perfection, it seems appropriate to the anonymous author to explain exactly what is meant by these terms and to start with *gestorbenheyt* and subsequently move on to *ungestorbenheyt* in the second part of his text:

Vmb dan den selben die noittorfftige vnd selige gestorbenheyt kundiger zu machen yn klarem verstentniße vnd baß vnd volnkomelicher zu der selben vnd auch diser materien disses spiegels mogen kommen, so duncket mich noit, fruchtbar vnd selig den eynfeltigen etwas verstentlichers vnd klerlichers — so ferre ich dorch die gnade gotes vermag — yn dissen schriffthen kunt thun. Vnd her vmb so ist den selben eynfeldigen zu merer verstentniß zu wißen erst was gestorbenheyt sy, war vmb

⁵² Freienhagen-Baumgardt, *Hendrik Herps 'Spiegel der volcomenheit'*, p. 120: 'zum anderen ist der mitüberlieferte Kommentar nicht so spezifisch auf den Spiegel zugeschnitten, dass er nicht mit einem ähnlichen Werk als Mitüberlieferung auftauchen könnte', cf. p. 126.

⁵³ I consulted a copy held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Munich, BSB: 4, Inc.s.a. 1691, fol. 122^v. Digital scans of this copy are available at the following link: <<http://daten.digitalte-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00034347/images/>> [accessed 20 June 2018].

sie sy, wie sie genant sy, vnd was sie wirken sy. Dar nach was die vngestorbenheit sy, wo sie her kommen sy, wie sie genant sy vnd was sie wircken sy, vnd zu leste wie von der vngestorbenheyt zu der gestorbenheit widder zu kommen sy.⁵⁴

(In order then to explain more clearly to these same people the indispensable and blessed *gestorbenheit* [so that] they might grasp better and more completely the content of the *Spiegel*, it seems to me necessary, profitable, and blessed to make it somewhat clearer and more comprehensible for the simple ones by means of this treatise, insofar as I can do this through the grace of God. And therefore these simple people need to know, for their greater understanding, what is meant by *gestorbenheit*, why it exists, what it is called, and what it accomplishes. And then also what *ungestorbenheit* is, where it comes from, what it is called, and what effect it has, and finally how one can return from *ungestorbenheit* to *gestorbenheit*.)

This text is directed especially at ‘simple’ readers (*eynfeltigen*). Its objective was to make Herp’s text accessible for these readers, extending the audience of the *Spieghel* and thus also its (potential) distribution. In this way Herp’s ideas ‘travelled’ — they could move to a new group of readers who would not understand the text on its own, or at least not completely, without some further explanation. The first ever printed edition of the *Spieghel* thus served a broad readership, which was of course also a commercial advantage for the printer. Moreover, the printed edition in its turn also influenced the handwritten transmission. The treatise explaining the concepts of *gestorbenheyt* and *ungestorbenheyt* to the reader was copied from the printed edition, together with excerpts from the *Spieghel*, into at least one manuscript.⁵⁵

While the text explaining *gestorbenheyt* and *ungestorbenheyt* was added as an appendix at the end of the printed *Spieghel*, another treatise purposely written to accompany the *Spieghel* served as an introduction to the text. This treatise, preceded by a comprehensive table of contents, does not limit itself to explaining a couple of concepts: it actually elucidates the entire structure of the *Spieghel*.⁵⁶ According to the — again anonymous — author, the treatise was designed to help readers and listeners in understanding and memorizing the significance of the entire text.⁵⁷ After all, the *Spieghel* is a long text, and

⁵⁴ Munich, BSB: 4, Inc.s.a. 1691, fol. 122^v.

⁵⁵ Freienhagen-Baumgardt, *Hendrik Herps ‘Spieghel der volcomenheit’*, pp. 122–28. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cgm 836, fol. 99^r–116^r.

⁵⁶ On this treatise, see Abram and Dlabáčová, ‘A Vernacular Commentary’. See also Freienhagen-Baumgardt, *Hendrik Herps ‘Spieghel der volcomenheit’*, pp. 98–109.

⁵⁷ Augsburg, Bibliothek Uni Augsburg, MS cod. III.1.4°24, fol. 10^{r-v}: ‘Dar durch dein

it presents a large variety of material to the reader. The introduction not only allows the reader to understand the *Spiegel* much better, it also makes hearing or reading the text much more exciting, and it makes it easier to remember. First, the author explains the structure of the soul, which consists of the lower powers, the higher powers, and the highest part of the soul. Subsequently, he turns to the distinction between the active life and the contemplative life and the exercises and religious practices belonging to these stages within the mystical ascent. This introductory treatise is transmitted in eight manuscripts, which accounts for its reasonably successful distribution.⁵⁸

The introductory treatise did not create a new text out of the *Spiegel*. What it did do, however, was to make the text more accessible, giving it a new lease of life and once again ‘translating’ the contents of the text for readers with a different (or insufficient) training. Each time a purposely written text was added, this also meant an additional author and new readers were added as well. The fact that an author would dedicate time and effort to writing a text to accompany Herp’s *Spiegel* shows there was a great interest in its contents — this added not only to the importance and status of the text, but also gave a new impulse to the text’s distribution.

Conclusion

It is not surprising that the mechanisms at work in the distribution of vernacular and Latin texts (partly) coincide. The author and his authority/status are important, although for a vernacular text it is essential that the author provides a solid link to the new, vernacular audience. Authors such as Herp — in touch with the ‘learned world’ but at the same time strongly linked to the lay audience through pastoral care and aware of their interests and needs — occupy an ideal position in this context.

For the distribution of vernacular religious texts, pastoral care was of paramount importance. The interaction between oral and written communication

lieb solliche mainung diser kurtzen [10v] wort dester bas vassen vnd in gedechtnus behalten vnd verstan müge auff die mainunge diß gantzen büchs. Wellichs büch dir vmb sollichs souil destmer verstantlicher vnd lustiger mag sein ze lesen oder ze hören, diser kurtzen wortt mer behalten magst, wann villeicht durch die manguältigkait der innhaltung des büchs, so möchtest du dich nit wol berichten mügen der vnderschaide, die du in disem kurtzen fürhalten verstan vnd haben magst, die dir der hailig gaist wölle zû uerstan geben, so uil du des zû seinem göttlichen lob vnd eren vnd deiner seligkait nutz vnd merung bringen mag. Amen.

⁵⁸ The manuscripts are listed in Abram and Dlabáčová, ‘A Vernacular Commentary’, p. 235.

was fundamental, especially in the initial stages of textual distribution. Texts provided the father confessors with an additional instrument and the members of a religious community with an opportunity to deepen their knowledge and intensify their spiritual life. Pastoral care triggered interest in a text. Since every religious community and its members were part of a social or institutional network of some kind (reform movement (e.g., monastic observance), congregation, town, family ties, confraternity), the provision of a vernacular text guaranteed this text's further transmission in both lay and religious circles. Texts such as the *Spiegel* make clear that these circles were not separate worlds but rather overlapping spheres that increasingly shared the same religious culture and knowledge; the texts containing the latter were constantly appropriated either through the use of a different language, a vernacular commentary or selection and insertion into a collection of yet other texts.

According to Hobbins, works were first (personally) delivered to a local audience, a close circle of readers. Like Gerson, Herp wrote in response to a demand — the *Spiegel* was written for a spiritual daughter living in the world. To reach past the initial readers and break out of the small circles of readers (in the case of vernacular religious texts strongly connected to pastoral care) meant that a work could make its way into what Hobbins calls a 'distribution circle'.⁵⁹ A distribution circle further opened the way to an international audience. In the case of Gerson, the distribution circles were the great fifteenth-century councils and the Carthusian houses; in Herp's case, fifteenth-century observance provided a distribution circle many a medieval author could only wish for.

Although we know virtually nothing about the background of the authors of the texts written to accompany Herp's *Spiegel*, it seems likely that they were involved in pastoral care themselves. They practised a form of appropriation that was important for the continuing circulation of the text, making it possible for the text to reach (ever) new audiences. In 1552 the Louvain printer Jan Waen once again brought the *Spiegel* into circulation in the Low Countries, now with a new introductory letter that placed the text in a counter-reformation context, extending its life span beyond the medieval period.⁶⁰

Late medieval book production was 'democratic' in the sense that everyone could have their own, tailor-made text, and the authors of complementary texts such as the introduction to the *Spiegel* had more room to manoeuvre — they

⁵⁹ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 185–91.

⁶⁰ Dlabáčová, *Literatuur en observantie*, pp. 224–29.

were not dependent on publishers. Any author who had access to considerable resources could have his work circulated in manuscript in the late Middle Ages, but the success of the text depended on a number of conditions: the author, the network(s) at his disposal, and the readiness of readers to engage with the text, its clarity, and distribution. In a way, this situation is similar to the circumstances in our current age in which the role of publishers is changing — but of course without all the electronic devices and at a much slower pace within a much longer time-frame.⁶¹

⁶¹ Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 153, 179.

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TRANSMISSION AND SELECTION: INSTRUCTING THE PARISH CLERGY IN LATE MEDIEVAL GERMANY

Matthew Wranovix

The historian Enno Bünz, a prolific scholar of the parish and lower clergy in late medieval German-speaking lands, has written that it would be fruitful to look at the medieval parish as the node of communication linking the laity of Christian Europe to the institutional Church.¹ Bishops were responsible for transmitting the teachings and laws of the Church to their priests, who then had to translate those teachings and laws into the vernacular and disseminate them to the laity. The laity then appropriated and interpreted those teachings and laws to construct local religious cultures. Here I would like to examine one link in this chain of communication — that between bishop and priest. In order for priests to properly transmit God's grace through the correct performance of liturgical rituals, to transmit the laws and teachings of the Church, and to counsel troubled souls, they needed knowledge. But where were they to get it? It is a well-known criticism of the medieval church that no institution dedicated to training priests existed.² Neither grammar schools nor the universities taught pastoral care. Most priests would have learned their craft from an older priest while working as an assistant, but bishops also tried to instruct their clergy by privileging certain texts and attempting to control their transmission — official liturgical books, diocesan statutes, and, in some cases, pastoral handbooks.³

¹ Bünz, “Die Kirche im Dorf zu lassen ...”.

² Dohar, ‘*Sufficienter litteratus*’.

³ Aspects of this article are discussed at greater length in Wranovix, *Priests and their Books*.

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How well did this system function? Both medieval and modern observers have had their doubts as to its efficacy. The *Reformatio Sigismundi*, written in the 1430s, raged against unlearned and unqualified priests; they were the blind leading the blind. The friar Johann Schippower in Osnabrück mocked contemporary priests for having the education of a donkey.⁴ A preacher on the eve of the Reformation lamented that:

Nulla iam in clericis vitae sanctitas requiritur, literarum eruditio nulla postulatur, conscientiae puritas non attenditur. Sufficit, si, 'Socrates currit' possint construere, si, cuius partis orationis sit 'dominus' sciant respondere.

(No sanctity of life is required in clerics, no erudition in letters is demanded, the purity of conscience is not attended to. It is sufficient if they are able to construe 'Socrates currit', if they know to which part of speech 'dominus' belongs.)⁵

Given the constant drumbeat of criticism, it is no surprise that historians until recently have had a similarly low opinion of the intellectual competency of the medieval parish clergy. G. G. Coulton, in the early twentieth century, confidently asserts that 'the evidence of clerical ignorance all through the Middle Ages [...] is overwhelming'.⁶ More focused studies in the 1960s and 1970s on France by Paul Adam, England by Peter Heath, and Italy by Denys Hay appear to bear out Coulton's negative assessment.⁷ Hay, for example, asserts that '[w]ith the rarest exceptions parish clergy were ill-educated and ignorant, quite uninterested in the ideas and practices we summarize in the word Renaissance, and, one imagines, quite indifferent to them'.⁸

If this assessment is correct, then the transmission of knowledge to the parish clergy and consequent dissemination to the laity would have been blocked by a solid wall of clerical ignorance. It is noteworthy, however, that both the preacher quoted above and Hay, the modern scholar, criticize late medieval priests for a lack of 'erudition in letters' and a disinterest in Renaissance humanism. This should serve as a warning that perhaps what priests lacked was not

⁴ Overfield, 'University Studies and the Clergy', p. 256.

⁵ Quoted in Oediger, *Über die Bildung der Geistlichen*, p. 93 n. 1. Other examples of clerical criticism can be found, for example, in Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* and in the articles in Dykema and Oberman, *Anticlericalism*. For sixteenth-century critiques, see Goertz, *Pfaffenhaß und groß Geschrei*.

⁶ Coulton, *Ten Medieval Studies*, p. 114.

⁷ Adam, *La vie paroissiale en France*; Heath, *The English Parish Clergy*.

⁸ Hay, *The Church in Italy*, p. 98.

learning per se, but the right kind of learning to impress late medieval humanists and modern scholars. Although interpretations have softened since the late '70s, John Shinnars and William Dohar could still write in 1998 that the image of the rural priest as a 'barely literate, barely celibate, barely sober bumpkin' remains.⁹ At least in late medieval German-speaking lands, however, the parish clergy more resembled competent bureaucrats than barely sober bumpkins. The strategy of instructing clergy via a controlled distribution of texts was challenged less by clerical ignorance than the nature of manuscript production and circulation.

Like many positions in secular and ecclesiastical government in this period, the job of parish priest became increasingly bureaucratic over the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century.¹⁰ This should not surprise because although sometimes described as a job that required nothing more than the ability to read the (probably memorized) rites of the mass, the administration of a parish was surprisingly complex. Managing both local responsibilities and dealing with expanding secular and ecclesiastical administrations required a facility with documents and record keeping. Unfortunately evidence for the daily functioning of the parish bureaucracy has left behind almost no traces; the combined forces of routine, obsolescence, and confessional competition have ensured that almost nothing of such administrative ephemera survives today.¹¹ However, diocesan statutes, chance documentary survivals, and a few extraordinary sources, such as a 1480 visitation record from the diocese of Eichstätt, permit at least a partial reconstruction of the bureaucratic responsibilities of priests.¹²

The visitation record makes it clear that priests in the diocese of Eichstätt kept a copy of the diocesan statutes as well as documentary proof of their ordination and title, a copy of their license if they had received ordination outside the diocese, and confirmation letters for their benefices. These latter could figure prominently in legal disputes. In 1480, Johann Hayden, a mass-priest in

⁹ Shinnars and Dohar, *Pastors and the Care of Souls*, p. xiii.

¹⁰ One indication of increasing bureaucracy in city governments is the dramatic increase in their consumption of paper over the course of the fifteenth century; see Irsigler, 'La carta; il commercio'.

¹¹ Hlaváček, 'Zum Urkunden- und Geschäftsgut der Pfarreien und ihrer Pfarrherren'.

¹² The 1480 visitation record from the diocese of Eichstätt is the oldest complete visitation record from German-speaking lands. The most extensive published analysis of the record is Buchner, 'Kirchliche Zustände in der Diözese Eichstätt'. See also Wranovix, *Priests and their Books*.

Wemding, complained to the bishop's vicar general that the townspeople had converted some fields belonging to his benefice into communal grazing land. He claimed that when he showed them and the prefect his confirmation document to prove his right to the fields, they seized the document and refused to return it to him.¹³

The bureaucratic duties of priests included inspecting episcopal dispensations issued to individuals in their parish, examining licenses for wandering indulgence hawkers and local religious communities, reading out judgements from the ecclesiastical court, issuing court citations, and keeping lists both of the sins for which only the episcopal penitentiary could grant absolution and of those individuals who had violated them. Such sinners could not be admitted to the sacraments without written confirmation from the penitentiary that they had received absolution.

Priests were also responsible for enforcing the complex canon law of marriage both publicly and in the confessional. This involved inspecting documents produced by the episcopal chancery and producing documents to confirm the status of parishioners. Johannes Wiedemann, an assistant priest in Bernstadt in 1476 and the rector of St Walburg in Eichstätt from c. 1484–1517, preserved drafts of two such documents.¹⁴ The first stated that Wiedemann, as the rector of St Walburg for the last twenty-three years, could testify that the bearer, Georg Puch, was born in Eichstätt to legitimate parents, was single, and was not already bound by any promises of matrimony.¹⁵ The second documented

¹³ 'Dominus Iohannes Hayden primissarius ibidem juratus dicit se ordinatum in Eysteten-sis et deinde de licentia sui episcopi eystetensis constantiae ad titulum dictae suae primariae. Habet singulis annis quolibet anno circa xxxii fl. nam opidani opidi Wemding agros primariae converterunt in pascua communitatis. Et litteras confirmationis, quas eis vel praefecto tantum ad videndum ostendit, vi retinent nolentes sibi restituere'; Eichstätt, Diözesanarchiv Eichstätt (hereafter abbreviated DAE), B230, fol. 145^v.

¹⁴ What little is known about Wiedemann comes directly from his books; see also Fink-Lang, *Untersuchungen zum Eichstätter Geistesleben*, p. 308, and Buchner, *Das Bistum Eichstätt*, p. 262.

¹⁵ 'Pateat universis presencium inspectoribus quod discretus et honestus vir georius de pu^och de eystet, natus et oriundus a iuventute ibidem, enutritus in parrochia ecclesie sancte walpurgis honeste et de honestis parentibus in eadem parrochia conversatus nec aliquo onere matrimonii innodatus sed solutus et ab omnibus [...] [illegible] habitus et tentus nec ab aliqua [...] [illegible] matrimonio impugnatus in cuius rei testimonium a me Iohanne Widenman plebano sancte walpurgis plebanus qui eandem ecclesiam plusquam viginti tribus annis rexit, quod quidem testimonium peciit sibi tradi has litteras manu me propria scriptas atque secreto meo munitas. Datum vicesima quinta die Februarii anno, etc. septimo [1507]'; Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt (hereafter abbreviated UE), Cod. st 420, loose note between f. 152 and f. 153.

the legal marriage between Lienhart Ebner and Barbara, the daughter of Ulrich Grunberger, on 4 October 1502.¹⁶

Wiedemann went as far as to create a modest formulary to handle another area of concern — confession. According to the Fourth Lateran Council's decree *Omnis utriusque sexus*, each Christian man and woman was held to confess and receive Communion from his or her own parish priest and no other. In certain circumstances, however, parishioners were permitted to confess to a priest other than their own, but only with the written permission of their own priest. Since these licenses were written on small slips of paper and lost all value after their use, they have only rarely survived. Wiedemann, however, preserved several drafts and formulas for such documents in his books. He copied three different types of confession letters onto the final folio of a collection of Johannes Herolt's sermons. The first confirmed that a member of Wiedemann's parish had confessed to him and was eligible for Communion; the second testified that Wiedemann had confessed and issued Communion to a person who did not belong to his parish; and the third simply testified that the bearer had confessed to Wiedemann. A fourth formula left on a loose slip of paper testified that Wiedemann, in his capacity as papal penitentiary during the Jubilee of 1510, had received the bearer's confession and granted absolution.¹⁷

Not unrelated to these documents were those required by pilgrims, who needed the written testimony of their own parish priest to reassure the priests in the towns through which they travelled that they were not excommunicates and were on a legitimate pilgrimage. Wiedemann copied two drafts of letters for pilgrims to Rome that asked the rectors of parish churches to give the bearers aid and administer the sacraments to them if necessary.¹⁸

¹⁶ 'Pateat universis et singulis presencium inspecturis quod sub anno domini 1502 feria tertia post Michaelem ego Iohannes Widenman plebanus sancte Walpurgis eystettensis civitatis et diocesis publice et sollempniter in facie ecclesie intronisavi Lienhard Ebner de Zirch et Barbaram filiam Udalrici Grunbergensis de Eystett uxorem eius legitimam iuxta formam canonicam et statuta sinodalia eiusdem diocesis. Nuptiasque sollempniter et legitime celebratas per eosdem nullo obstante impedimento quod manu propria praesentibus pro testimonio vel signeto meo pro testimonio. Actum anno et die qua supra'; UE Cod. st 420, fol. 290'.

¹⁷ UE Cod st. 420, fol. 291' and loose note left between fols 152–53; transcription and further discussion can be found in Wranovix, *Priests and their Books*, pp. 50, n. 94–96.

¹⁸ Both were copied on the same page as the form letters for penitents. 'Coram universis et singulis christifidelibus presentem litteram inspecturis, ego Iohannes Widenman, adiutor divinorum in N publice recognosco protestando quod isti viri Iohannes N Petrus N ostensores presencium de mea licentia petita iter peregrinationis curie romanorum veri peregrini non excommunicati sed veri et boni christiani tanquam filii obediencie. Huiusmodi iter per-

Priests, then, were deeply familiar with documents — they read them, inspected them, and produced them. To authenticate them, they owned and used seals, although few examples of these have survived. Johannes Molitoris, the rector of St Moritz in Augsburg in the middle of the fifteenth century, in fact had two seals, one for the parish and one for the business he conducted on behalf of a rosary brotherhood.¹⁹ Some priests, especially in the second half of the fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, also began to keep extensive parish registers to keep track of their liturgical obligations: income from land, tithes, and fees; customs regarding liturgical celebrations; the expectations for assistant priests or schoolmasters; lists of donors and their anniversary masses; and copies of important documents. Two complete registers kept by resident curates survive from Pappenheim and Hilpoltstein in the diocese of Eichstätt. Both registers were begun in 1511 but used older registers as a basis. Together they show that anniversary masses in particular required complex book-keeping. For example, Conrad Ellinger's anniversary mass required the rector of Pappenheim to collect three pounds, 168 pennies, two hens or an additional sixteen pennies, eight measures of grain, and eight measures of oats from two individuals in Burgsalach, with which he was to distribute four measures of grain to the poor.²⁰ The fourteen such endowed masses mentioned by the Pappenheim register were supported by property in and around fifteen different villages, each piece of which paid varying amounts. The parish clergy

egrinacionis sunt ingressi// Qua de re suplico omnibus et singulis ecclesiarum rectoribus ad quos ipsi pervenerint quatenus eisdem peregrinis si necesse fuerit propter deum dignemini ipsis ministrare ecclesiastica sacramenta et ut sitis supradictis peregrinis tutum adiuvamen adversus malos inimicos quod erga altissimum orationibus ac serviciis pro mereri [*sic* for promereri] totis viribus non recuso in cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum presentibus est impressum datum anno 1476'. The second draft is: 'Coram universis et singulis christifidelibus presentem cartulam inspecturis ego Iohannes Widenman, plebanus sancte Walpurgis eystetensis civitatis diocesisque, publice recognosco manu propria protestando quod discretus vir Mathias [*Vischer* — crossed out] piscatoris civis eystetensis ostensor presencium de mea licentia petita iter peregrinacionis ad limina sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum devocionis causa et voti ingressus est verus eciam peregrinus et christianus et tanquam filius obediens huiusmodi iter accipiens. Qua de re suplico omnibus et singulis ecclesiarum rectoribus ad quos ipse prenom-natus pervenerit quatenus eidem peregrino si necesse fuerit propter deum dignemini ipsi ministrare sacramenta ecclesiastica eique in aliis adiuvamen et auxilium prestare curetis quod erga altissimum orationibus ac serviitiis promereri totis viribus non recuso. Datum Eystet ultima die Februarii anno, etc.'; UE Cod. st 420, fol. 291'.

¹⁹ Ruf, 'Der Augsburger Pfarrer Molitoris und sein Holzschnittsiegel'; for another example, see Bünz and Kubín, 'Sigillum Petri plebani de Glathovia'.

²⁰ Schornbaum and Kraft, 'Pappenheim am Ausgang des Mittelalters', p. 159.

in Hilpoltstein, however, were responsible for performing the services for 119 similarly endowed anniversary masses.²¹

Priests in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century were bureaucrats: they used the written word not only in the liturgy of the mass but also in the administration of the parish. Ignorance in the form of illiteracy, therefore, was not the problem. However, the very forces that made the bureaucratization of parish administration possible, including improved education and access to cheaper paper and books, turned increasing numbers of priests into their own scribes.²² Far from celebrating the scribal activity of the parish clergy, bishops worried deeply that this development and the nature of manuscript production itself could undermine their efforts to create a unity of thought and practice. The problems can be illustrated by looking more closely at the three types of texts privileged by bishops — synodal statutes, liturgical books, and pastoral literature.

Promulgated at regular meetings of the diocesan clergy, synodal statutes were used by bishops to communicate norms and expectations to both the local clergy and the parish community. Statutes were a conservative genre, but it is clear that statutes did evolve over time, and bishops wanted their priests to have the most recent version. Angela Treiber has used the phrase (borrowed from Wolfgang Brückner) 'renewal through selective tradition' to describe the process by which medieval bishops selected from the set of inherited norms while integrating new ones.²³ For example, in the preface to a set of statutes issued in 1465, the bishop of Eichstätt, Wilhelm, explains:

Statuta quaedam synodalia felicis memoriae domini johannis immediati praedecessoris nostri, anno domini millesimo quadingentesimo quadragésimo septimo, in synodo pro tunc publicata, prout jam pridem similiter ac per nos actum est, ratificavimus, et nunc praesentibus ratificamus certo moderamine in eisdem observato, prout ex infra scriptis nostris statutis intelligetis. Praeterea nova quaedam edidi-

²¹ Götz, *Das Pfarrbuch des Stephan May*, p. 68; this source is discussed further in Wranovix, *Priests and their Books*, pp. 54–55.

²² Only a sample of the literature on these topics can be offered here. On improvements in literacy and education, see Briggs, 'Literacy, Reading and Writing in the Medieval West'; for two studies documenting increases in grammar schools in Franconia, see Jakob, *Schulen in Franken und in der Kuroberpfalz 1250–1550* and Heiler, *Bildung im Hochstift Eichstätt*. For an extensive analysis of trends in university attendance, see Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*. On paper, see Lyall, 'Materials: The Paper Revolution', and Corsten, 'Papierpreise im mittelalterlichen Köln (1371–1495)'. On book prices, see Hoffmann, 'Gutenberg und die Folgen' and Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, 1, 368–77.

²³ Angela Treiber, *Die Autorität der Tradition*, p. 116.

mus, quae omnia vim legis et praecepti sub poenis in eisdem contentis habere, ac districte per vos observari volumus.

(We have ratified certain synodal statutes of the lord Johann, our immediate predecessor of happy memory, published in the synod held in the year of the Lord 1447 [...] and now in respect for the mode of governance contained therein, we ratify them to those present, just as you will be given to understand from our statutes written below. Furthermore we have published new statutes, which we wish to have all the force of law and precept on pain of the penalties contained therein, and which you are strictly to observe.)²⁴

Fourteen years later when Wilhelm sent his official to visit and inspect the parish churches of the diocese, he expected his parish priests to possess the statutes issued by Wilhelm's predecessor from 1447, 1453 and 1457 as well as the more recent statutes issued by Wilhelm himself in 1465.²⁵

Typically bishops entrusted rural deans or archdeacons with copies of the statutes and these officials were in turn to make them available to the parish priests of their districts at the regular meetings of the rural chapter.²⁶ Clerics exercising the cure of souls were expected to acquire a copy, read it to the chaplains and altarists in their parish, and translate the appropriate sections of the statutes for the benefit of the laity. Noteworthy here is the method of transmission. Bishops did not want priests copying the statutes from each other; instead they were to acquire a copy only from the rural dean or archdeacon. Priests seem not to have always followed this injunction.

Episcopal efforts to ensure that each priest possessed a correct copy of the correct statutes were frequently frustrated not by clerical ignorance but by the problem of turnover within the clerical ranks, competition new statutes faced in the textual marketplace from other versions, and the perishability of unbound booklets. Statutes, unlike most liturgical books, belonged to the individual priest and would have wandered from church to church along with their owner; this means there was a constant need both to supply new priests with copies and to convince priests moving from outside the diocese to stop using their old ones. Physically, statutes typically circulated in unbound paper quires or booklets, a textual format that became increasingly popular in the

²⁴ *Concilia Germaniae*, ed. by Schannat and Hartzheim, v, 471.

²⁵ There has been some confusion over the dating of Wilhelm's statutes. For details, see Wranovix, *Priests and their Books*, p. 90 n. 36.

²⁶ On rural chapters in the diocese of Eichstätt, see Götz, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kapitelsorganisation'.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Everything from plague treatises in France, to vernacular romance literature, verses, and heretical tracts in England, to catechetical treatises all over Europe were circulating in increasing numbers in this unassuming format.²⁷ Unbound quires, however, would have had extremely short shelf lives. Indeed, the perishability of synodal statutes is indicated by the paucity of such texts to have survived into the modern period; the few that have survived did so only because their owners made the unusual choice of having them bound together with other texts.²⁸

Bishops were aware of the problem posed by the perishability of unbound booklets. The bishop of Würzburg in 1446 ordered that pastors copy the diocesan statutes into their liturgical books.²⁹ This would both have given the copy greater permanence and have prevented it from being carried away by a departing priest. The visitation of the diocese of Eichstätt can give us a sense of the scale of the problem. Seventy-eight (15 per cent) of the 530 parish clergy visited did not have the specified synodal statutes, two did not have the latest version, three owned copies that were somehow defective, and seven possessed incomplete copies. The approach of the episcopal visitor may in fact have motivated some of this scribal activity. Of the first 150 clergy interviewed, none claimed to have lent their statutes to another, but of the final 380 interviewed thirteen (3.4 per cent) made that excuse.³⁰

Older editions of the statutes remained in circulation, and sometimes priests even possessed the statutes of other dioceses. One priest in the diocese of Eichstätt in 1480 still had a copy of the statutes promulgated in 1434.³¹

²⁷ Three articles in the collection *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475* edited by Griffiths and Pearsall are particularly relevant here: Hudson, 'Lollard Book Production'; Meale, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners', esp. 217–20; and Boffey and Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies'. See also Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 7–10.

²⁸ From the diocese of Eichstätt, several fifteenth-century manuscript copies of the synodal statutes have survived, but only a few of these were definitively in the hands of parish priests: Clm 6487 and Cgm 258 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Band 8 in the parish library of Schwabach, and GNM Hs 17912 of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

²⁹ Schannat-Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, v, 316. Bishops in England resorted to the same measure; see Shinnars, 'Parish Libraries in Medieval England', p. 209.

³⁰ For further statistics, see Wranovix, *Priests and Their Books*, pp. 71–72; see also Lang, 'Würfel, Wein und Wettersegen', p. 229, n. 69. My count differs slightly from that presented by Lang.

³¹ DAE B230, fol. 80^r. A copy also existed in the parish library of Schwabach, Band 8, fol. 109^r–20^v; Wambach, *Die Kirchenbibliothek Schwabach*, pp. 123–24.

Elsewhere in the Empire, the parish priest of Dechantskirchen in 1443 borrowed a manuscript from the collegiate foundation of Vörau that contained the Salzburg provincial statutes from 1310. In 1499 a chaplain named Thomas donated a manuscript to the church in Perchtoldsdorf that contained both the 1419 diocesan statutes from Passau and the 1418 statutes from Salzburg. Nikolaus Czwertengrüner von Waldneukirch copied a pastoral miscellany for himself in 1450 that included a collection of Salzburg provincial and diocesan statutes from 1267, 1274, and 1281.³² For example, in 1448 Laurence, an assistant priest in the diocese of Eichstätt completed a copy of Johann III von Eich's diocesan statutes issued at the diocesan synod held in the previous year. He later had this text bound together with a 1449 copy of Conrad von Megenburg's *Book of Nature* and a small collection of other sermons and texts relevant to pastoral care.³³

In an age of manuscript production, only the regular confirmation by the bishop could hope to ensure that a diocese's statutes were repeated often enough and copied frequently enough to avoid being forgotten, corrupted, or infiltrated by statutes from neighbouring dioceses. Even new statutes did not immediately and automatically sweep the field, but had to compete with copies of older ones. Copies and partial copies of new and old statutes, as well as statutes from neighbouring dioceses, would have all circulated simultaneously, although new statutes or those recently reconfirmed would have enjoyed greater prestige and institutional support. Changes could be and were introduced in diocesan legislation, but only the cumulative effect of numerous re-affirmations and annual readings in rural chapters across the diocese could ensure any hope of uniform implementation. The frequently observed repetitive nature of diocesan statutes thus stems from a candid realization of the nature of textual circulation.

Surprisingly these issues existed even with liturgical books. These had the advantage of being bound and of, usually, belonging to the church rather than the priest; thus it should have been easier for bishops to ensure that each and every parish in the diocese celebrated the liturgy in the same way. But this was not the case. Fifteenth-century bishops came to suspect that priests added superstitious rites or customs to their handwritten manuals and service books.³⁴

³² Treiber, *Die Autorität der Tradition*, p. 198.

³³ MS Cgm 258 in the §; see Schneider, *Die deutsche Handschriften*, pp. 160–64.

³⁴ Dykema, 'Conflicting Expectations', pp. 239–40. Dykema himself was depending on Franz, 'Zur Geschichte der gedruckten Passauer Ritualien', and Mayer, 'Geschichte der Spendung der Sakramente'.

In 1461 the bishop of Eichstätt expressed his own worries in a letter to Bernhard von Waging, the prior of the Benedictine monastery of Tegernsee.³⁵ He complained that great variety in the celebration of divine services ruled among his clergy because each priest added special ceremonies or individual prayers according to his own devotional tastes. Johann therefore asked his friend to compose a short work on the mass in order to impose some uniformity on the variety of practice in the parishes. Bernhard went somewhat beyond his commission and submitted a text on preparing for the celebration of the mass, questions of liturgical practice that could arise during its performance, a list of cases reserved to the bishop's jurisdiction, and a treatise on confession and ecclesiastical censures. Bishop Johann received the work with satisfaction in the following year and promised to promulgate it to his clergy at the coming diocesan synod.³⁶

Episcopal suspicion of their clergy's scribal efforts is confirmed by their attempts, beginning especially in the 1480s, to unify diocesan liturgical practice by mandating the purchase of official, printed editions of the most necessary liturgical books. The bishops of Freising (1484) and Passau (1490) had official diocesan rituals printed in an attempt to drive out the moonshine versions they found so irritating. In 1480 the bishop of Regensburg, Heinrich von Absberg, criticized 'discordia et difformitate ex diversorum librorum mendositate et variatione exorta' (discord and deformity risen due to the error and variation of diverse books) then in circulation. Celebrating the ability of the press to produce accurate, identical copies as a miracle of God, Heinrich dismissed handwritten missals as marred by the 'plurimum scriptorum incuria, nimia vetustate, atramenti carteque vitio aliave menda sint depravati' (negligence of scribes, excessive age, damage, and errors) and offered an indulgence of forty days to anyone who either read from or listened to a reading from the new printed edition of the diocesan missal.³⁷

The bishop of Eichstätt, Wilhelm von Reichenau, was so concerned by the variety of liturgical books found in the possession of the parish clergy during the episcopal visitation of 1480 that he convinced the printer Michael Reyser to move his shop to Eichstätt and employed him to print the synodal statutes

³⁵ Suttner, 'Versuch einer Conciliengeschichte des Bisthums Eichstätt', p. 159.

³⁶ Suttner, 'Versuch einer Conciliengeschichte des Bisthums Eichstätt', p. 131; Eich's letters requesting the work and noting its reception can be found in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Clm 19697, fol. 77^{r-v}, 79^r. Clm 18548b includes both Eich's request and the work itself.

³⁷ Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, I, 466.

in 1484, a missal in 1486, and a ritual in 1488 — all at the expense of the episcopal fisc.³⁸ In the preface to the 1486 missal, Wilhelm said he decided to issue a printed edition because there were in the diocese many fragile and aged missals as well as some that departed from the use of the diocese of Eichstätt.³⁹ Of the 372 missals inspected during the course of the visitation commissioned by Wilhelm just six years earlier, however, only one was noted as incomplete, five as somehow defective, six as incorrect, and just four as in old or poor condition. However, and this is surely what Wilhelm found most alarming, fifty-two missals were found to be organized according to the rites of other dioceses, collegiate or monastic orders. So in fact liturgical books did wander from parish to parish, just like statutes, and priests were not always too concerned about acquiring the correct version. Wilhelm, who is best known in the local historical literature for his efforts to consolidate and unify his jurisdictional control over his principality, did not take kindly to such casual disregard for the diocesan liturgy.⁴⁰

Bishops recognized the problem with unregulated textual circulation and production, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the late medieval catechetical movement, associated most frequently with Jean Gerson (d. 1429), the energetic church reformer and chancellor of the University of Paris. Late medieval church reformers became convinced that the distribution of texts, in the form of pastoral handbooks or short tracks on pastoral theology, was the best weapon against sin, heresy and superstition.⁴¹ The University of Vienna became a centre of this catechetical movement, led by theologians such as Heinrich von Langenstein (d. 1397) and Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl (d. 1433).⁴²

Bishops in the Empire embraced the strategy. Inspired by a canon from the council of Basel, the bishop of Eichstätt, Albert II of Hohenrechberg, in 1434 ordered that each cleric entrusted with the cure of souls acquire a copy of the *Guide for Curates*.⁴³ Compiled c. 1420 by the canonist Johannes Auerbach, the

³⁸ Roth, *Michael Reyser*, pp. 14–17.

³⁹ ‘considerantes quosdam vetustate effractos alios caducos et nonnullos a nostre cathedralis ecclesie ordinariis rubriciis et formis penitus discrepare’. UE 132/1 B IX 88, fol. 2^r.

⁴⁰ Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Eichstätt*, 1, 202–41; Röttel, *Das Hochstift Eichstätt*; Heidingsfelder, *Die Zustände im Hochstift Eichstätt*. For more on these liturgical books, see Wranovix, *Priests and their Books*, p. 72.

⁴¹ Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700*, pp. 35–56; Bast, *Honor Your Fathers*, pp. 1–52; Bailey, ‘A Late-Medieval Crisis of Superstition?’; Hobbins, *Authorship*, pp. 141, 194.

⁴² On the so-called ‘Vienna School’, see Haberkern, *Die ‘Wiener Schule’ der Pastoraltheologie*.

⁴³ Suttner, ‘Nachträge zur Conciliengeschichte des Bisthums’, pp. 197–98.

handbook consisted of a section on the practical procedures to be used in confession, followed by a brief discussion of the seven sacraments. The bishop of Brixen in 1449 and 1453 also ordered his clergy to acquire a copy of Auerbach's *Guide*.⁴⁴ In five successive editions of the diocesan statutes the bishops of Augsburg gave their clergy a choice between the *Guide for Curates* and the anonymous *Summa for Simple Priests*, a similar handbook.⁴⁵ Nicholas of Cusa convinced the provincial councils of Mainz (1451) and Cologne (1452) to promote Aquinas's *On the Sacraments and the Articles of Faith* among their clergy.⁴⁶ The synods held in Würzburg, Eichstätt, and Augsburg in 1452 did in fact pass on the text to their clergy. Perhaps influenced by his colleagues to the north, the bishop of Strasbourg also recommended the text in the same year.⁴⁷

Traditionally such book prescriptions have been seen as the Sisyphean efforts of bishops to ensure that their clergy possessed a minimum of knowledge. There is something to this explanation, but in a context of accelerating textual circulation among a class of men accustomed to the use of the written word they must have meant more than that. Local studies have revealed that priests in the fifteenth century did have small personal libraries and that parish libraries were growing. In the diocese of Eichstätt, for example, at least forty-one manuscripts owned or produced by twenty-six members of the parish clergy between 1442 and 1478 have survived as well as evidence they exchanged and copied texts both among themselves and with other individuals and institutions.⁴⁸ Parish libraries in Germany benefited from the donations of such book-owning priests; although many of these would have remained modest affairs, some could reach substantial size. The parish library in Sulzbach may have originated in the purchase of fifty-five volumes from the local preacher by the city council in 1458.⁴⁹ Of the parish library in Schwabach, twenty-three manuscripts and 122 incunabula have survived, while St Sebald's in Nuremberg boasted a collection of over 250 volumes in the late fifteenth century.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Dykema, 'Handbooks for Pastors', p. 146 n. 10.

⁴⁵ Dykema, 'Conflicting Expectations', p. 306.

⁴⁶ Meuthen, 'Thomas von Aquin auf den Provinzialkonzilien', p. 643.

⁴⁷ Meuthen, 'Thomas von Aquin auf den Provinzialkonzilien', pp. 651–52.

⁴⁸ Wranovix, *Priests and their Books*, pp. 80–88.

⁴⁹ Lommer, *Kirche und Geisteskultur in Sulzbach*, p. 275.

⁵⁰ Wambach, *Die Kirchenbibliothek Schwabach*, p. 5; Buzas, *Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte*, p. 110.

To be sure, there must have still been some rural clerics who would have had access to little more than their liturgical books, but in a context in which the parish library of Schwabach contained no less than three copies of Auerbach's *Guide for Curates* all copied before 1450, repeated episcopal mandates to acquire a copy of this or that handbook must be about more than establishing a minimum of clerical knowledge. Whereas we might expect them to have celebrated the increased bookishness of their clergy, late medieval German bishops saw the unregulated circulation of texts and amateur copying as the seeds and sowers of disunity and error. Book prescriptions were an attempt to root out diversity in religious thought and practice by privileging certain texts and controlling their transmission.

Bishop Albert in 1434, for example, did not merely order his clergy to acquire a copy of the *Guide* wherever they could find one, but rather entrusted an official copy to his vicar general, from whose exemplar each of the ten rural deans was to have a copy made. In turn, each priest with the cure of souls was to acquire a copy of the exemplar held by his rural dean within one year. Such tight control of the exemplars evidences an anxiety that priests left to their own devices might either use a faulty exemplar or willfully alter their text, a not uncommon occurrence as recent research on medieval scribal practice has shown.⁵¹ As a result of these book prescriptions, some rural deans became responsible for holding and distributing small libraries of approved texts. For example, Nicolas of Cusa in 1453 ordered that each rural chapter in his diocese of Brixen should have a corrected missal, a copy of the synodal statutes, Aquinas's treatise on the faith and sacraments, and Auerbach's *Guide for Curates*. The last was to be read out at each meeting of the chapter.⁵²

That priests might use dubious texts to prepare for preaching was another area of concern. At a diocesan synod held in Eichstätt in 1447, Bishop Johann III von Eich ordered his priests to be cautious in their sermons, avoid vain or useless words, explain the scripture in the vernacular 'just as it lies', and explicate it clause by clause using the attached postils. At least once a year, curates should preach on the Ten Commandments and the general decree *Omnis utriusque*. He concluded with a warning:

⁵¹ This is not the place to cite all the relevant literature. Two examples are Reiter, 'The Reader as Author of the User-Produced Manuscript', and Reames, '*Mouvance* and Interpretation in Late-Medieval Latin'.

⁵² Hartmut, 'Aus den Handakten des Kanonisten Johannes Urbach (Auerbach)'.

Caueant autem omnino predicatorum huiusmodi, ne in suis sermonibus utantur scripturis apograftis siue non autenticis; et si quid per ignoranciam proferant ab ecclesia uel a doctoribus non approbatum, hoc caute studeant reuocare.

(Let preachers of this kind take care, however, lest they use in their sermons copied or inauthentic scriptures, and if, out of ignorance, they advance anything not approved by the Church or doctors, let them strive carefully to renounce it.)⁵³

At issue was not the inability of Johann's clergy to use texts to guide their preaching, but rather their choice of texts. And priests did have choices. In addition to the frequently prescribed *Guide for Curates*, priests in the diocese of Eichstätt collected at least thirteen other pastoral handbooks as well as nine manuals dedicated to the sacrament of confession. Far from limiting themselves to explaining the bare text of the gospels as Bishop Johann would have liked, priests in the diocese collected nearly a hundred individual sermons on a whole range of topics as well more systematic collections.⁵⁴

John van Engen has described late medieval Christianity as layered, as a world that tolerated particularity in ways that the sixteenth century, dominated by the process of 'confessionalization', would not.⁵⁵ But however plural and layered medieval Christianity may have been, late medieval churchmen deplored this state of affairs. Bishops desired uniformity but were thwarted by clerical turnover, the perishability of unbound, paper booklets, and the profusion of legal, liturgical, and pastoral texts available to priests. Ironically, the very factors that made the late medieval catechetical program realistic and permitted the bureaucratization of parish administration, improved education, cheap paper, and affordable books, were the same factors empowering priests to make their own bibliographic choices. Fifteenth-century episcopal book prescriptions stemmed not only and perhaps not even primarily from a desire to provide the clergy with a minimum of professional knowledge, but rather from a need to create some order in the increasing cacophony created by the accelerating circulation of texts and the scribal activity, however amateurish, of their clergy.

⁵³ Suttner, 'Versuch einer Conciliengeschichte des Bisthums Eichstätt', pp. 111–12. The bishops of Bamberg and Regensburg later adopted and re-issued the same statute; see Schannat-Hartzheim, *Concilia Germania*, v, 628–29; vi, 112–13; Oediger, *Über die Bildung der Geistlichen*, p. 115 n. 3.

⁵⁴ Wranovix, *Priests and their Books*, pp. 175–81.

⁵⁵ Van Engen, 'The Church in the Fifteenth Century'.

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AFTERWORD

Donnchadh Ó Corráin

In 2012, I had the pleasure of giving the welcoming address at an international conference held at University College Cork, the conference from which this book originates. Additional papers have enriched the proceedings collected in this volume, with fascinating research presented by established and newly emerging scholars. These wide-ranging essays have dealt with works in many medieval vernaculars (Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Middle Irish, Welsh, Arabic, Dutch, German, French, and Italian).

Kevin Murray's 'Aspects of the Narrative Development and Textual Transmission of the Voyaging of Saint Columba's Clerics' began with the due punishment for regicide, but the clerics who bring Columba's judgement decide to voyage on the ocean. They have wondrous experiences and visit many islands. Murray traced the text's many shapes from the end of the tenth century to its Modern-Irish version. Thomas Birkett engaged with a technical problem: the rune poems of Anglo-Saxon England and medieval Scandinavia. This, he held, invites comparisons between Old English and Old Norse literary culture. The old question: is there a common archetype? Birkett argued that much of what is shared between Iceland, Norway, and England is internal to the script itself, in the shape and form of runes, and in their associations. He suggested that the rune poem conceit is translation in the broadest sense. Beth Zamzow examined the textual complexity of fifteenth-century English carols and their relationship to the liturgy. Anthony Lappin dealt with quite a different and tricky kind of translation: turning one holy book into the language of another, rendering

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the Qur'ān into Latin and its glossing from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. Krista Rascoe tackled the remarkable problem of Dante and medieval optics — an innovative approach to the history of science — and tested his formidable grasp of the new science in *Paradisio*.

The work of the egregious Giraldus Cambrensis was considered in two papers: Nóirín Ní Bheaglaoi, '*Libri corrigendi*: Revising the *Topographia Hibernica*' and Caoimhe Whelan, 'Translating the *Expugnatio Hibernica*: A Vernacular English History in Late Medieval Ireland'. Works of Giraldus appears in varied forms in the medieval Anglo-Irish annals. Exceptionally, the compiler of *Mac Carthaigh's Book* drew on it in his account of the English invasion. There is a translation into Irish of the English translation of *Expugnatio Hibernica* in London, British Library, MS Harley 177. More abbreviated than its exemplar, it omits much and concentrates on action. However, it makes additions: for example, incorrect or missing patronyms and place-names are supplied correctly. Harley 177 was in Ireland and in the hands of a member of the Gaelic learned Ó Fithcheallaigh family as is shown by the note: 'ista letera est scripta manu uuilliami i ficheallaig' (fol. 57^r), that is, Uilliam Ó Fithcheallaigh. As the English translation, the Irish one belongs to the period of Kildare supremacy (c. 1450–c. 1530) when it was seen as giving the fine origins of the princely Geraldines and, in Curtis's attractive if misleading words, their 'all-but-kingship of Ireland'. Anna Dlabáčová, Tamara Pérez-Fernández, and Matthew Wranovix illuminated text-historical problems — the first on Herp's *Spiegel der volcomenheit*, the second on Iberian translations of Gower's *Confessio amantis*, the third on the texts used to bring some knowledge of canon law, and pastoral care, and some sense of the liturgy to medieval German parish clergy.

Here are ten well-presented and carefully edited studies on European textual transmission. Together, they give good reason for examining textual production in Europe as a cultural unit. We find that the Insular is not insular, that the vernacular cannot be separated from the Latin, and that a wider perspective brings light to what is often seen as merely local, even peculiar.

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